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# AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

October, 1934

The Immigrant Church and the Patrons of  
Husbandry

*O. Fritiof Ander*

The Agricultural Revolution in the Prairies  
and the Great Plains of the United States

*Louis Bernard Schmidt*

A Bibliography of the Writings of Professor  
Ulrich Bonnell Phillips

*Fred Landon and Everett E. Edwards*

John Pitkin Norton's Visit to England, 1844

*Robert W. Hill*



Published Quarterly  
by

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

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AGRICULTURAL HISTORY is designed as a medium for the publication of research and documents pertaining to the history of agriculture in all its phases and as a clearing house for information of interest and value to workers in the field. Materials on the history of agriculture in all countries are included, and also materials on institutions, organizations, and sciences which have been factors in agricultural development.

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# AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

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## THE IMMIGRANT CHURCH AND THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

Professor Solon J. Buck in his excellent works, *The Granger Movement* and *The Agrarian Crusade*, and Professor John D. Hicks in his well-known study of *The Populist Revolt* have dealt in great detail with the movements caused by the agrarian unrest after the Civil War, and it would be difficult to add much new information of value. Professor Buck has pointed out that opposition to secret societies was one of the many reasons for the decline of the Patrons of Husbandry, and Professor Hicks has stated that opposition to secrecy was responsible for the failure of the Northern and Southern Farmers' Alliances to merge into one unified organization. The stronghold of this opposition was to be found in the various church organizations, and the purpose of this paper is to set forth the attitude of the immigrant churches, whose membership was essentially agrarian, toward the Granges, and to elaborate already well-known facts.<sup>1</sup>

In order to understand the attitude of the immigrant churches toward the Patrons of Husbandry, it is essential to review briefly the factors in the European background which influenced the immigrant clergymen, as well as conditions in the United States which further stimulated their opposition to secret societies. The religious conditions in Europe, particularly in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, were far from satisfactory. Eighteenth-century philosophy and materialism had seemingly affected the church, especially in countries with a state church, and a reaction from this spiritual decline was inevitable. It was expressed in a wave of pietism, first felt most strongly in Germany, and was manifested in various forms and degrees. As a whole this reaction might be said to have been essentially Calvinistic and puri-

<sup>1</sup> This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Columbia, Missouri, on April 26, 1934, as one of a series devoted to "The Religious Elements on the Frontier."

tanical in spirit, though the influence of Wesleyan doctrines can easily be discerned in the stress on the necessity of conversion and a definite promise of salvation.

The more worldly clergymen in the state churches ridiculed the pietistic tendencies, and their opposition grew in intensity with the spread of pietism, particularly when a few of the clergy began to advocate the separation of church and state, professing to see in their unity an explanation of the evils into which the church had fallen. Religious toleration was nonexistent; the pietistic clergymen found themselves out of favor with the bishops while their enthusiastic sermons and the encouragement of religious revivals probably made them popular with their congregations. With economic difficulties and news of opportunities in America added to religious discontent, the unrest and dissatisfaction expressed itself in a flow of immigration to America.

The clergymen who had endeared themselves to the pious often followed their parishioners to America. Though these men might have dreamed of material prosperity, to many of them the new land appeared as a religious paradise where they would be able to preach, guide, and act in accordance with their firm religious convictions, and strip the church of formalism and ritualism. However, the United States was not the religious paradise that they had hoped to find. In many cases these immigrant clergymen had not experienced the difficulties of "a free church" such as many of them had advocated in Europe. In America they faced the problem of securing members, and they had to depend upon the good will of the congregation for support in the building of churches and the payment of salaries. The need of appealing to nationality in order to secure and hold members became apparent and also the organization of large immigrant church groups or synods. Thus the German Lutherans united; likewise the Swedes, Norwegians, etc. Attempts were soon made to secure the aid of general synods or Americans of Lutheran faith. The effects of different provincial expressions of pietism were now fully felt as it proved impossible to secure coöperation, and even the immigrant leaders were soon involved in doctrinal discussions. The Germans divided into several independent groups; the

same is true of the Norwegians. The factors causing sectionalism in America played further havoc with the efforts toward unity. The American Methodist and Baptist missionary societies, having heard exaggerated reports of the evils in the state churches of Europe, undertook intensive propaganda and missionary work among the immigrants. A struggle for converts ensued, and the large American church organizations with advantages as to manpower and money could finance the building of churches and relieve the newcomers of the financial obligations connected with church membership. These churches also offered "proofs" of evils in the state churches with which the immigrant clergymen were immediately associated.<sup>2</sup>

These conditions made many immigrant clergymen, who had hoped to coöperate with various Protestant churches, conscious of their particular religious needs as well as their nationality, and in many cases they became intolerant and even more puritanical. They began to look for faults in the American churches and to point with horror at the prevalence of doctrinal laxity and the broad spirit of toleration in them. Among many things, they looked askance at the toleration of secret societies. European pietism of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had quite generally expressed itself as violently opposed to organizations whose elaborate rituals and religious ceremonies together with secrecy had appealed to the imagination and had, therefore, become popular in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The pietists had interpreted religious ceremonies and secrecy as evil and had associated these organizations with false worship of God.

<sup>2</sup> Some very sweeping generalizations have been made in dealing with European as well as American conditions. Interesting accounts of these conditions can be found in a number of church histories, and also more detailed accounts in such excellent works as the following: Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860* (Northfield, Minn., 1931); J. Magnus Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872* (New York, 1926); a number of articles by George M. Stephenson as well as his books, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850-1860* (Rock Island, Ill., 1927), and *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis, 1932). Gunnar Westin, *George Scott och Hans Verksamhet i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1929) is valuable. H[elmut] Richard Niebuhr has an interesting chapter on the churches of the immigrants in his work, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929).

In the United States the reaction to the Free Masons and other secret societies had been violent, probably much more so than anywhere in Europe; but this very violence may have been a cause of the more tolerant spirit later. At any rate, after the passing of the anti-Masonic wave in America, the number of secret societies increased; organized opposition from the churches became of less and less importance; and gradually many clergymen found their way to membership in these societies, particularly in the Free Masons. Probably the organization of the Know-Nothing Party was evidence of the popularity of secret societies shortly before the Civil War. While some clergymen opposed the party on the basis of its secrecy, the so-called "un-American spirit," the opposition was by no means forceful on that score. The secrecy of labor organizations and finally the formation of the Patrons of Husbandry also testified to a decline of the opposition among native Americans to secret societies.

Though this is an indication of a growing spirit of toleration among some of the American churches, to the immigrant church leaders it was evidence of doctrinal and moral looseness. Here the immigrant church leaders could score in the war for proselytes. To them toleration meant religious indifference. Almost jubilantly their piety expressed itself in opposition to secret societies, and, to show their Christian purity, a layman or clergyman found to be a member of a secret society was immediately excommunicated.<sup>3</sup> Though undoubtedly the formation of the Know-Nothing Party and its hostility to immigrants as well as the growth of the Masons and other secret organizations had stimulated this opposition, it can probably be said that the Granges intensified it.

As an immigrant church, the Catholic Church did not change its strong opposition to secret societies, as expressed in a papal bull in 1739. This bull condemned secret societies because their membership might include various religious sects, and because oaths of secrecy prevented sacramental confessions. According to the bull, Masonry was harmful to both the state and the souls

<sup>3</sup> O. Fritiof Ander, *T. N. Hasselquist; The Career and Influence of a Swedish-American Clergyman, Journalist and Educator* (Rock Island, Ill., 1931).

of individuals. In spite of this pronouncement and the anti-Catholic sentiment of certain secret societies, many Catholics undoubtedly became members of the Patrons of Husbandry, and the effectiveness of the church's official position was to a large extent dependent upon the attitude of the bishops.<sup>4</sup> According to the paper, *Sändebudet*, the bishops at times were uncompromising, and membership in a Grange meant excommunication.<sup>5</sup> The nature of the Catholic Church also undoubtedly kept many Catholic farmers from joining the Grange even if they sympathized with its purposes.

Of the immigrant churches, the Protestant groups had a much larger percentage of agrarians among their members during the years of the great popularity of the Grange. Thousands of Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes had settled in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, the region where agricultural discontent was keenly felt after the Civil War. As most of these immigrants were Lutherans, it is of some importance to know the attitude of the many independent Lutheran synods of these three groups toward the Patrons of Husbandry.

The impetus for a more intensive opposition to the Grange came, however, from an awakening of the "New England conscience" and the stamp that American puritanism had placed on certain churches, especially the Presbyterian Church, as well as the revival of general opposition to secret societies after the Civil War in response to their growth. This opposition, particularly strong against the Masonic Order, led to the formation of the National Christian Association in 1868.<sup>6</sup> This organization began immediately to publish sermons, pamphlets, books, and a newspaper for the purpose of spreading anti-secret-society propaganda. The National Christian Association's newspaper, the *Christian Cynosure*, was edited by President J. Blanchard of Wheaton College. Inaugurated in the summer of 1868, it was

<sup>4</sup> *The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading and Research*, 7:5455 (revised ed. Springfield, Mass., 1913); *Christian Cynosure*, Nov. 21, 1889.

<sup>5</sup> *Sändebudet*, June 23, 1874.

<sup>6</sup> *A Brief History of the National Christian Association*, 6 (Chicago, 1875).



issued bimonthly until 1871 when it became a weekly paper. Though the publication of this paper might seem to indicate that the National Christian Association had considerable strength, it is doubtful if the *Christian Cynosure* had a large number of subscribers. In 1874 the Association was granted a charter of incorporation by the State of Illinois; and State associations had been formed in Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut. The propaganda of the Association issued by the Cynosure Press of E. A. Cook and Company in Chicago advocated the abolition of secret societies, the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages, a "just recognition" of the Bible and the Sabbath, and the direct election of the president and vice-president of the United States by vote of the people.<sup>7</sup>

For the immigrants and their clergymen, the *Christian Cynosure* provided fuel. The immigrant leaders had little first-hand knowledge of secret societies in America or of American conditions in general as they often lived in new Norways, Swedens, or Germanies. Many things in America shocked them, and they became intensely interested when American conditions and trends began to be manifest among their own groups. The attitude of the *Christian Cynosure* toward secret societies greatly appealed to them. Its views were theirs, and in it they could secure information from Americans about the deplorable results of secret societies. The authenticity of occasional ludicrous stories never entered their minds. The contents of the *Christian Cynosure* satisfied them; it proved the evils of secret societies; it presented cases of desecration of God and the Bible; and it showed how certain American churches, competitors of the immigrant churches, tolerated secret societies. Not all immigrant leaders read or subscribed to the *Christian Cynosure*, but the editors of immigrant religious periodicals, searching for material against secret societies, were always able to find something to their liking in this publication to translate and use in their own periodicals. These articles found their way into such Swedish-Lutheran periodicals as *Augustana*, *Luthersk Kyrkotidning*, and *Shibboleth*,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

the last edited for the specific purpose of combating secret societies. The Norwegian Lutherans also found the *Christian Cynosure* useful; and the German periodicals of the Missouri and Iowa synods and the more "Americanized" Joint Synod of Ohio such as *Der Lutheraner*, *Kirchen Blatt*, and *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* show evidence of their dependence on the *Christian Cynosure*.

At first the National Christian Association condemned the Patrons of Husbandry with a tempered spirit as it saw that the American farmers had certain just grievances and that they might gain material advantages through membership in a Grange, but with the almost phenomenal growth of the movement it stamped the Grange as "the last hope of the devil" and as the Masonic Order in disguise.<sup>8</sup> To portray its unchristian character, the Grange was associated with "the cider interests" and its opposition to the irrigation of waste land was denounced as utter selfishness. The Association also contended that the Grange interfered with the church, since church members who were Grangers owed obligations to two organizations, and this meant a loss of interest in the church. The dues paid to the Grange might have gone to the church. The oath required by the Grange was regarded as one of infidelity, defeating justice; and the charity of the Patrons of Husbandry was looked upon as fictitious. To the persons suffering from a "New England conscience," it might also be difficult to find justification for the membership of women in the Grange. Their presence at meetings would lead to social functions, and the Puritan mind contemplating the possible evils of men and women associating freely and spending evenings dancing together had no limits in imagining what might happen.<sup>9</sup> Though these reasons for the opposition to the Patrons of Husbandry are essentially the same as those cited by Swedish, Norwegian, and German Lutherans, there is a possibility of over-

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings of the Sixth Anniversary of the National Christian Association* (Chicago, 1874).

<sup>9</sup> "Eminent Men on Secret Societies," *Cynosure Tract No. 17*. *Christian Cynosure*, Dec. 5, 12, 1889, and Jan. 9, 1890. Copies of the *Christian Cynosure* prior to 1885 could not be secured, but fortunately the immigrant periodicals often quoted it as a source of information.



emphasizing the influence of the National Christian Association among the immigrant churches. The entire European background of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and also the difficulties of the immigrant churches in America as already outlined must be kept in mind. No evidence has been found that the immigrant churches opposed the Patrons of Husbandry because the Granges in Ohio urged taxation of church properties.

The Swedish Lutherans believed that the Grange was teaching a false type of Christianity;<sup>10</sup> that it was of Masonic origin; that it mixed political, economic, and religious questions; that it encroached upon the rights of the church; and that its cult was pagan.<sup>11</sup> The gain of a few pennies could not compensate for the loss of religious belief and independence, which naturally meant the loss of one's soul.<sup>12</sup> The first article against the Patrons of Husbandry in the mouthpiece of the Augustana Synod, *Augustana*, appeared with the title "A New Secret Society" in the September number of 1872. Two years later it quoted the *Christian Cynosure* as follows:<sup>13</sup>

The Grange is the devil's last trump card; and it is, without doubt, the most dangerous movement that has been instituted up to this time. It was started by the Free Masons; it will also accompany Free Masonry to destruction and will be interred in the same wicked grave toward which all honest souls have an aversion. Among all the people on earth, those least likely of forming a secret, selfish league with idolatry for divine service and insanity for its creed are the solid farmers.

One of the first official notices of the Grange by the Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod is found in the report of the president of the Synod for the year 1873. The Reverend Jonas Swensson stated:

Another thing which not only prepares the way for unbelief and denial but is counted upon to give this adversary [the devil] such a terrible power, even when it appears in a more open and outrageous battle against Christianity, is the pres-

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<sup>10</sup> *Shibboleth*, March, 1878.

<sup>11</sup> *Luthersk Kyrkotidning*, April, 1873.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, June, 1873.

<sup>13</sup> *Augustana*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1873). The quotation is almost a literal translation from the Swedish original. The same is true of the other quotations from foreign language periodicals.

ence of so many societies of unbelievers and secret societies, which rise up and seize everything around them with alarming rapidity. We have reason to thank the Lord who led our Synod to take such a determined stand against these as early as it did.<sup>14</sup> May we always hold fast to it and apply the principles which, in this respect, have been adopted! We have, this year in particular, reasons to be reminded of these principles when a comparatively new society under the name, "The Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry," has attempted to force itself into several of our congregations. Although this society in its true composition and constitution is no better than any other society, it is, nevertheless, calculated to gain many who otherwise would never defend nor do homage to any other secret society, because it [the Grange] professes itself to be a society only to work against that oppression into which the moneyed interests are attempting to force the hard-working farmer. In its inner workings, however, this society with its horrible oath, its ceremonies, and its principles is just as much at enmity with Christianity as any other. Let no one permit himself to be deceived by their pretty allegations.<sup>15</sup>

Even the conferences of the Augustana Synod felt called to pass resolutions condemning the Grange.<sup>16</sup>

The Norwegians held similar views. At the annual session of the Synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church at Janesville, Wisconsin, in 1870, secret societies were condemned in no uncertain terms.<sup>17</sup> Its official organ, the *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, for September 15, 1873, declared:

In the last few weeks a society or union has gained wide-spread influence among the farmers, a society whose declared purpose is to promote agricultural union and to protect the farmer from exploitation by the railways, the tradesmen, the manufacturers, etc. They have therefore been called "Patrons of Husbandry" or "Granges". . . . Because these societies have only a material objective, and even though their purpose in itself contains nothing sinful nor unlawful, the church as an organization can have nothing to do with [i.e. oppose] them, and more important should they involve religious elements or should they employ immoral means, then it is even more evident that the church of God cannot happily and indifferently see its members join them. The church has not only found some things of doubtful worth but even much of a sinful character in these "Granges"; we have, in the last few months, discovered considerable evidence in the various church periodicals. Particularly have the organs of the Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod and several of the German Lutheran church papers expressed themselves as strongly opposed to these societies.

<sup>14</sup> The Reverend Swensson undoubtedly referred here to the action taken by the Synod in 1864. *Minutes of the Augustana Synod*, 1864, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Minutes of the Augustana Synod*, 1873, p. 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Minutes of the Minnesota Conference*, 1874.

<sup>17</sup> *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, June 1, 1870.

We think that our readers would first of all desire an answer to the question: Are these Granges a secret society or not? Concerning secret societies our Synod, the Norwegian Synod, expressed itself at the meeting in 1870, . . . and we need not here bring any further proof of the fact that secret societies are sinful. To answer the above question, let us refer you to the society's own declaration that it considers itself a secret society. The secular press likewise calls it such and places it beside other "Secret Societies". . . . If the expressions contained in their constitution, in their *Handbook and Manual for Subordinate Granges*, and the evidence of the church and secular press are to be relied upon, then we can do nothing else but solemnly warn all our Christian brethren that they be not deceived and enticed into this society and that they pray God to preserve them from it.

The Germans looked upon the question from both a spiritual and a more practical point of view. The *Kirchen Blatt* weighed membership in a Grange in practical terms of dollars and cents and saw in the Grange a financial fraud.<sup>18</sup> This practical outlook led Gottfried Fritchel to believe that membership in a Grange might mean loss of membership and revenues by the church, though naturally the heretical teaching of the Grange, such as stamping sin as a mere human weakness, sorely troubled the Iowa Synod.<sup>19</sup> Fritchel also claimed that the Grange denied the Trinity and that it stressed the practice of virtue as a means of salvation.<sup>20</sup> The *Kirchen Blatt* condemned the Grange as the work of Beelzebub and characterized it as the deception (betrug) of the devil.<sup>21</sup> There was no secrecy in the work of Christ, the Iowa Synod journal stressed, and referred to Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 6, lines 14-15 as the fundamental reason for its opposition to the Grange.<sup>22</sup>

In 1867 the Joint Synod of Ohio urged the General Council of Lutheran Churches to condemn secret societies.<sup>23</sup> Though opposed to the Grange as a secret society, the attacks of the Joint Synod of Ohio do not seem vigorous, if one is to judge from the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, which opposed the Grange, as did

<sup>18</sup> *Kirchen Blatt*, July 15, 1873, and June 1, 1874.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1871.

<sup>20</sup> G. Fritchel, *Die Religion der Geheimen Gesellschaften*, 45-46, 64, 66 (Waverly, Ia., 1890).

<sup>21</sup> *Kirchen Blatt*, July 15, 1873.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1875. The quotation from the Bible is: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers for . . . what part hath he that believeth with an infidel."

<sup>23</sup> *Minutes of the General Council*, 1867.

most Lutheran immigrant periodicals, because of its secrecy and the oath of secrecy as contrary to the Word of God.<sup>24</sup> The followers of Walther, the doctrinaires and particularists, offered numerous objections to the Patrons of Husbandry. The Missouri Synod was greatly offended by rumors that the members of the Granges in their worship of God appealed to the Creator as the great architect of the universe.<sup>25</sup> To them the Grange was a mere cloak for the spreading of the religion of Masonry and the Odd Fellows. The entire religious make-up of the Grange was regarded as sacreligious. A Missourian is supposed to have heard the following in a Grange song: "We have no more need of pastors and preachers. We will do their work directly for ourselves."<sup>26</sup> The fact that the *Kirchen Blatt* of the Iowa Synod contains more material against the Patrons of Husbandry than the Missouri periodical, *Der Lutheraner*, may be explained as due to its closer contact with the movement. The Lutherans of Iowa were more affected by the agrarian unrest, and their synod had voiced its approval of the formation of the National Christian Association and had favored a strong platform by the General Council of Lutheran Churches condemning secret societies.<sup>27</sup> But the Missouri Synod by no means compromised in its opposition to secret societies.

The intensive opposition of the immigrant church to the Patrons of Husbandry encouraged the American churches and at times almost forced them to a similar hostility toward secret societies.<sup>28</sup> The United Brethren and the Presbyterian churches,

<sup>24</sup> *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Mar. 1, 1867.

<sup>25</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, Oct. 15, 1873.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1874.

<sup>27</sup> *Kirchen Blatt*, July 1, 1868.

<sup>28</sup> The so-called American Lutheran churches, members of the General Synod and the General Council, were much more tolerant toward secret societies, the opposition being strongest from the immigrant churches. See the *Minutes of the General Council*, 1868-1873. The pressure of the immigrant churches on the American churches led the General Council to condemn secret societies, but this decision was of little importance as few of the churches actually fought secret societies. In the eighties, the immigrant churches also were affected by the spirit of greater tolerance, and many of the immigrant clergymen regretted the uncompromising stand of their synods. S. Bente, *American Lutheranism*, 2:207 (St. Louis, Mo., 1919).

however, needed no encouragement.<sup>29</sup> A Presbyterian congregation in Iowa deprived members who joined the Grange of their church membership. In 1869, the Presbyterian Assembly condemned all secret societies as sinful, but even the Presbyterian Church did not always satisfy the immigrant churches on this score. The *Kirkelig Maanedstidende* felt that the Presbyterian Assembly which condemned the Grange in 1873 should have been more vigorous in its opposition.<sup>30</sup> The following year the Reformed Presbyterian Church condemned the Grange,<sup>31</sup> but probably the Norwegians were not responsible for this action.

In the Lutheran immigrant church, continued membership in the Grange after a warning meant excommunication or dismissal from the church. The Norwegians prided themselves on the fact that they had waged the war so effectively that practically no Norwegians joined the Patrons of Husbandry.<sup>32</sup> Although the Reverend T. N. Hasselquist stated that he had found only one Swedish Lutheran who was a Granger,<sup>33</sup> synodical opposition and the articles against the Grange in periodicals were not as effective among the Swedes as Hasselquist indicated. At St. Peter, Minnesota, a large group in a Swedish-Lutheran congregation joined the Grange and attempted unsuccessfully to secure the property of the church in order to establish a congregation of Grange members.<sup>34</sup> An undated letter written by John A. Enander to T. N. Hasselquist indicates that the Augustana Synod actually faced a problem. So also do the minutes of the Augustana Synod from which the following is quoted:

From almost all the country congregations comes the declaration that the so-called Granges have made strenuous efforts to induce our church members to join them; but we also have the cheering information that these efforts have met with little success. It is the duty of every Christian to bend every effort at his command against this secret society in which unbelief and worldliness are so power-

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<sup>29</sup> *Augustana*, vol. 1, no. 12 (1874).

<sup>30</sup> *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, Oct. 15, 1873.

<sup>31</sup> *Augustana*, vol. 1, no. 12 (1874).

<sup>32</sup> *Kirkelig Maanedstidende* and *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende*, September numbers, 1874. *Augustana*, vol. 1, no. 9 (1874).

<sup>33</sup> *Heimlandet, Gamla och Nya*, Jan. 26, 1875.

<sup>34</sup> *Minutes of the Minnesota Conference*, 1874.



fully emphasized and fostered. It is a great advantage that the Synod, as early as it did, took such a decided stand against all secret societies and societies of unbelievers. If we stand as one man against them, unwavering in our faith, their success among us will not be great. . . . It seems that with regard to the Grange question our Norwegian brethren should be a little more fortunate than are we. They have, even as we, had to declare themselves against, reveal, and warn concerning this new secret society, just as they had to do against the old ones of the same nature. But that is not saying that they have been so fiercely assaulted, at least not by people within their own camp. On the contrary, their articles have not only been reprinted in a greater number of their secular political newspapers, but a larger number of individuals from many directions have thanked them for what they have written; and they can add: "We have, on the contrary, not encountered any particularly severe contradictions or attack upon our contentions, and consequently we are, so far as this question is concerned, in the extraordinarily happy situation that it appears unlikely that we will be involved in any congregational strife." They have been urged from several places to reveal more concerning the society in question, which they have done. Only in a few isolated congregations have there been any disputes, though this does not seem to have been because of a defense of the society by any member within the church. Individual contributors, in one or another political paper, have defended the society against the attacks of the church. In a recent article in their church paper, they [the Norwegians] have presented more evidence that "The Patrons of Husbandry" is a secret society with strict obligations regarding its oaths and religious ceremonies. The editor of that paper has in his possession, as has Pastor Norelius, a copy of the Grange's *Manual and Monitor* which, according to the notice therein, is given only to the officers of the society and is withheld from the members in general.<sup>35</sup>

But later, in 1875, the president of the Augustana Synod was able to report that the Grange caused little trouble, and that the anti-secret-society attitude of the members of the Synod had been strengthened.<sup>36</sup>

Though the anti-Grange articles of the Norwegian Lutheran periodical found their way into the political newspapers, the Swedish Lutherans failed to secure the support of the secular press in their opposition to the Grange. The Augustana Synod, however, forced the Swedish Methodist paper, *Sändebudet*, to fight secret societies and the Patrons of Husbandry,<sup>37</sup> but this paper was not always consistent in its opposition.<sup>38</sup> The Swed-

<sup>35</sup> *Augustana*, vol. 1, no. 9 (1874).

<sup>36</sup> *Minutes of the Augustana Synod*, 1875.

<sup>37</sup> Ander, *Hasselquist*.

<sup>38</sup> *Sändebudet*, Aug. 18, 1874.

ish Baptists needed less inducement to combat these societies,<sup>39</sup> and the Baptists in America were apparently more firm in their opposition than the Methodists. The Baptists were regarded as leaders in the anti-secret-society movement by the National Christian Association. The "hard-shelled" Baptists of Owensville, Indiana "made a thorough job in ousting" members who had affiliated themselves with the Grange.<sup>40</sup> The German Baptists also readily joined the German Lutherans in condemning the Patrons of Husbandry and other secret societies.<sup>41</sup>

The full effect of the opposition of the immigrant churches to the Patrons of Husbandry is difficult to assess. It can only be understood when we realize the importance of the number of immigrants in the region affected by the Granger Movement and also that after 1873, when the opposition grew in intensity, the Grange began to decline. It is not intended here to underestimate already recognized factors in this decline, but undoubtedly the opposition of the immigrant churches was a factor. It might also be said that the churches were so effective in their opposition that the attempt to merge the non-secret Northern Farmers' Alliance with the Southern Farmers' Alliance failed because the Northern Farmers' Alliance refused to recognize the principle of secrecy.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Evangelisk Tidskrift*, May, 1878.

<sup>40</sup> *Shibboleth*, May, 1878. However, the Baptist paper, the *Standard*, sympathized with the Patrons of Husbandry. See the *Rock Island (Ill.) Argus*, July 9, 1874.

<sup>41</sup> *A Brief History of the National Christian Association*, 28.

<sup>42</sup> Propaganda against secret societies in non-immigrant periodicals is found in the following journals: the *Christian Statesman*, the *Instructor*, the *American*, the *Free Press*, the *Record* (an Iowa periodical edited by Blanchard), the *American Wesleyan*, the *Religious Telescope*, the *Presbyterian*, the *Evangelical Messenger*, the *Covenanter*, *Our Banner*, the *Evangelical Repository*, the *Lutheran Standard*, the *Christian Secretary*, the *Literary Review*, the *Earnest Christian*, the *Bible Standard*, the *Bible Banner*, and the *Christian Herald*,—all on the approved list of the National Christian Association.



## THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN THE PRAIRIES AND THE GREAT PLAINS OF THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>

The history of the United States is the history of the colonization of a vast continent which may be conveniently divided into two periods: first, the colonization of the Great American Forest to about 1850; and second, the conquest of the Prairies and the Great Plains since 1850. The first period is symbolized by the rifle, the axe, the log cabin, the ox, and river transportation; the second, by the covered wagon, the sod house, the windmill, barbed wire, the horse, farm machinery, railroad transportation, the gasoline tractor, and the motor truck. During the first period, the pioneers entered upon the stupendous task of clearing three hundred million acres of virgin forest land for farming purposes. The second period presented a new and a greater challenge to the pioneer: the challenge of the open country. This region was occupied by vigorous native stocks from the forested States and by thrifty immigrants who were readily assimilated and Americanized. It is the most dynamic region of America. Here individualism reached its highest development. Provincial, yet not more so than New England, and holding the balance of power between the East and the South, it has made permanent contributions to American civilization. The most American part of America, it is now demanding full recognition in the councils of the Nation.

The Prairies and the Great Plains occupy "the vast open spaces" of the United States.<sup>2</sup> They constitute a triangular area

<sup>1</sup> The presidential address before the Agricultural History Society at its sixteenth annual meeting, Washington, D. C., May 14, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> The geographic limits of the Prairies and the Great Plains, as these terms are ordinarily employed by geographers, are not sharply drawn; but in general they have been approximately determined. According to Charles Richard Van Hise, *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*, 272, 274-275 (New

which includes a large portion of the upper Mississippi Valley designated in the census reports as "the North Central Division" and in popular usage as "the Middle West"; and they extend southward in a broad belt of territory west of the Mississippi River to the Rio Grande. They give the Mississippi Valley a unity which is obscured by artificial political boundaries that have been perpetuated between the North and South since the

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York, 1912), the Prairie Plains occupy "considerable parts of Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, and practically all of Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. The region of the prairie plains is the garden of the United States; it is the very heart of the country. This province is one of sedimentary rocks, largely limestone; it is of moderate altitude, being below 1000 feet in elevation. It is an area of neither too abundant nor too scanty rain; for the most part the annual precipitation being between twenty and forty inches. Originally it was largely covered with grasses, the trees being confined mainly to the borders of the streams. In passing from the center of this area to the provinces to the east and south, the area occupied by trees increases in amount, until adjacent to these provinces it approximated 50 per cent.

"The entire province has a soil varying from eight inches to a foot in thickness, and locally the soil runs up to ten, fifteen, twenty feet or more in depth. Probably there is no other equally large area in the world which surpassed it in original fertility; and it is certain that no equally large area can be compared to it in present fertility. The nearest approaches are the densely populated regions of China and the black lands of Russia. Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana have by far the largest percentage of improved lands of any states in the Union, varying in Iowa from nearly 90 per cent to more than 75 per cent in Indiana; whereas the next state in order is Delaware, a small state in the tidewater country, with 60 per cent."

On the west, the Prairie Plains merge imperceptibly with the Great Plains which include "a broad belt between the prairie plains on the east and the Rocky Mountains on the west, and extend from North Dakota and Montana on the North to Mexico on the south. For the most part they have an elevation of more than 1000 feet and less than 6000 feet. The higher elements are to the west and the lower to the east; thus the plains have an eastern slant. Like the prairie plains, this region is one of sedimentary rocks covered in large part with a deep and fertile soil, and if it had sufficient rainfall would be highly productive land; but it is an area in which the rainfall is less than twenty inches. It is therefore one in which a crop cannot be raised each year with certainty without irrigation, although dry farming may be practiced upon it over extensive areas. In early days the great plains were known as the Great American Desert. . . . It is like Palestine and Egypt, and like the Black Lands of Russia, an area in which there will alternate from time to time groups of lean and fat years; the lean years when there is deficient rainfall, the fat years when there is an abundance of rainfall. So far as the great plains can be irrigated they are highly productive; but for the most part they must remain the region of dry farming and grazing."

War between the States. They are destined to influence profoundly the course of the nation's history for generations to come.

The Prairies and the Great Plains throughout their extent are generally level or slightly rolling. The Prairies have a continuous grass cover or sod except for the areas which have been turned under by the plow and they include groves as well as bands of trees along the streams and tracts of true forest which may be seen in any direction; while the Great Plains have a grassy vegetation disposed in clumps or tufts separated by bare spaces and they are without timber except along the streams, on prominent elevations, and on places about springs. Iowa and Illinois are typical prairie regions which include roughly the lands around them: central Indiana, western Ohio, southern Wisconsin and Minnesota, northern Missouri, and the States west of the Missouri River so far as they are well enough watered to grow crops easily without irrigation.<sup>3</sup> The Prairies merge into the Great Plains at about the 98th meridian which marks the transition from the well-watered, so-called interior lowlands to the semiarid plains which include the western Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas; and eastern Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico.<sup>4</sup> This transitional zone is a cardinal fact in American geography. It may be observed that it divides the United States approximately into two equal parts.

The purpose of this paper is: first, to review the factors that transformed the Prairies and the Great Plains of the United States into an agricultural empire supplying the surplus products that made possible the industrial revolution; and second, to survey the present status and probable future of agriculture in these provinces.

The factors contributing to the agricultural revolution in the Prairies and the Great Plains were: first, the transfer of the public lands into private ownership; second, the occupation of these

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah Bowman, *Forest Physiography*, ch. 24 (New York, 1914); J. W. Powell, "Physiographic Regions of the United States," in the National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C., *The Physiography of the United States*, 83-84 (New York, 1896); Nevin M. Fenneman, "Physiographic Boundaries within the United States," in the Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 4:109-113 (1914).

<sup>4</sup> Bowman, *Forest Physiography*, ch. 22; Powell, 86-87; Fenneman, 113-117.

provinces by native white stocks whose ancestors had pioneered on successive frontiers, and by immigrants from Northwestern Europe; third, the mechanization of agriculture; fourth, the migration of industries from the farm to the factory; fifth, the extension and development of transportation facilities; sixth, the growth of domestic and foreign markets; and seventh, the establishment of agencies for the promotion of scientific and practical knowledge relating to agriculture, among which may be mentioned the United States Department of Agriculture supplemented by the various State departments, the land-grant colleges and experiment stations, farmers' organizations, and agricultural journalism.<sup>5</sup> These factors effected a revolution in agriculture which was accelerated under the stimulus of the demand for farm products created by the World War.

The policy of the National Government favoring the rapid transfer of the public lands into private ownership and of the States and railroad corporations in disposing of their grants to settlers on reasonable terms dates from 1862 with the enactment of the Homestead Act which was designed to provide free homes for actual settlers. This is the most important settlement law in the history of our national land legislation. Under this law the title of 274,000,000 acres of land have passed into private ownership,—an area nearly eight times the size of Iowa. The huge grants of land to States and to corporations for the construction of railroads and for the advancement of education also hastened the disposal of the public lands; while considerable areas were set aside as reserves. The public domain has passed into private ownership. Today but 172,000,000 acres remain unappropriated and unreserved,—lands which for the most part are not adaptable to farming.

The transfer of this great heritage into private ownership made possible a corresponding increase in the farming area of the country. The number of farms was increased from 2,044,000 in 1860

<sup>5</sup> Louis Bernard Schmidt, "The Agricultural Revolution in the United States, 1860-1930," in *Science*, 72:585-594 (Dec. 12, 1930). Several parts of this paper have been adapted to the present survey of the Prairies and the Great Plains of the United States.

to 4,009,000 in 1880, to 5,537,000 in 1900, and to 6,448,000 in 1920 which was reduced to 6,289,000 in 1930. The number of acres in farms was increased from 407,000,000 acres in 1860 to 536,000,000 acres in 1880, to 839,000,000 in 1900, to 956,000,000 acres in 1920, and to 987,000,000 acres in 1930. The greater part of this expansion in the farming area took place in the Prairie and Great Plains States. In 1930, these States reported 2,779,000 farms and 635,000,000 acres of farm land or nearly one-half of all the farms and two-thirds of all the farm land of the United States.<sup>6</sup>

The passing of the public lands was accompanied by significant tendencies which characterized American agriculture before the World War. These tendencies were the rapid rise of land values and the consequent transition from extensive to intensive farming; the growth of tenancy; the decline of the agricultural export trade; and the reorganization of rural life. These tendencies are more or less permanent. They constitute distinctive phases of agricultural revolution in the Prairies and the Great Plains.

The Prairies and the Great Plains have been occupied by the native stocks of the Eastern and Southern States and by the Teutonic stocks of Northwestern Europe which began to arrive in rapidly increasing numbers after 1840. In 1930, the population of the States comprising these provinces numbered nearly 47,000,000 or more than one-third of the total population of the United States. Of this number, the five East North Central

<sup>6</sup> The census figures used in this paper have been compiled from the volumes on Population, Agriculture, and Manufactures of the *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (1930). The Prairie and Great Plains States include the twelve States comprising the North Central Division (the Middle West) and the two States of Oklahoma and Texas. It is recognized that the political boundaries of these States do not coincide with the geographic boundaries of the Prairies and the Great Plains. They include the Lake Plains of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, northern Ohio, and eastern and southern fringes of the Middle West but they exclude the western fringe of the Great Plains region which embraces the eastern parts of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. It will be noted the Prairie and Great Plains States constitute the basis for statistical analysis and comparison in the present survey. This should be refined in any extended treatment of the subject by the elimination of areas in the east which are not a constituent part of the Prairies and the addition of the western fringe which is included in the Great Plains.



States reported 25,000,000; the seven West North Central States, 13,500,000; Oklahoma, 2,500,000; and Texas, 6,000,000. The native white population constituted 83 percent of the total in the East North Central States, 89 percent in the West North Central States, 86 percent in Oklahoma, and 72 percent in Texas. The Germans and the Scandinavians were the predominant elements in the foreign-born population of the North Central States; while Mexicans constituted 12 percent of the population of Texas. Negroes comprised 7 percent of the population of Oklahoma and 15 percent of the population of Texas. The prairie State of Iowa reported the highest percentage of native white population,—93 percent; while the Prairie-Plains State of North Dakota reported 83 percent and Kansas 92 percent. The rural population (including towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants) constituted 34 percent of the total in the East North Central States; 58 percent in the West North Central States; 66 percent in Oklahoma; and 59 percent in Texas. For Iowa it was 60 percent; for North Dakota 83 percent; and for Kansas 61 percent. The rural-farm population of the Prairie and Great Plains States numbered 12,852,000, or 43 percent of the entire rural-farm population of the Nation. It comprised 18 percent of the population of the East North Central States; 38 percent of the West North Central States; 43 percent of Oklahoma; and 40 percent of Texas. The figures of urban concentration show further that of the ninety-five cities with a population of 100,000 or more reported for the United States thirty-five are located in the Prairie and Great Plains States. Of this number, nineteen are located in the East North Central group, nine in the West North Central group, two in Oklahoma, and five in Texas.

The topography of considerable areas of arable land in the Prairies and the Great Plains is well adapted to the use of farm machinery on a larger farm-unit basis than that practiced east of the timber line; while specialization in farming also favors the liberal use of machinery. The mechanization of agriculture is perhaps the most significant aspect of the agricultural revolution in this region. This is revealed by the census. In 1930 the value of farm implements and machinery in use reported for the

United States amounted to \$3,202,000,000. Of this amount, the East North Central States reported \$626,000,000; the West North Central States, \$1,092,000,000; Oklahoma, \$93,000,000; and Texas, \$182,000,000. Nearly two-thirds of the value of farm implements and machinery in use was reported for the Prairie and Great Plains States. Iowa reported the largest investment amounting to \$270,000,000.

The mechanization of farming has affected the agricultural development of the Prairies and the Great Plains in a number of important respects. It has increased the productive efficiency of both land and labor; it has increased the size of farms; it has pushed forward the agricultural frontier; it has reduced the number of horses and mules which in turn effected an increased demand for raw materials and industrial labor and decreased the demand for pasture, hay, and grains; it has reduced the farm population; and it has introduced competition with the older farming regions east of the Mississippi River which is destined to affect profoundly the course of agricultural reorganization and readjustment in those regions.

The further development in the mechanization of agriculture in the Prairies and the Great Plains is dependent on several factors; first, the adaptability of the various portions of the farming area to the practical and economical use of new implements; second, the extent and character of the demand for commodities whose production may be increased by the new machines; and third, the degree of success with which the machines fit into the present organization of farms and the type of financial and business organization necessary to make their use both technically successful and economically profitable. The question whether the horse or the tractor affords the most economical power on the family-sized farm has been the subject of a controversy which must be decided by the farmers themselves with reference to their individual circumstances.

The distinguishing feature of farm life in the pioneer period was its economic self-sufficiency. There was no market for farm products; consequently no goods could be purchased from the outside. Each farm was "an economic microcosm," producing



for itself practically everything that it consumed: food, clothing, furniture, linens, soap, candles, and a great variety of minor articles essential to the farmer and his family. The transfer of these industries from the farm to the factory is the most significant aspect of the transition from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture. It is an interlocking feature of both the agricultural and industrial revolutions. This is emphasized by the fact that the farms furnish more than one-half of the raw materials of industry, while fully one-half of the products sold by the farmer are purchased by our manufacturing plants. The transformation of farm products by industrial processes into goods ready for the consumer is therefore the basic fact in the transition from pioneer self-sufficiency to commercial agriculture and industry.

The migration of industries from the farm to the factory since 1860 is characterized by the evolution of technical processes of manufacturing, increased market demands due to the growth of population, the addition of many new products and the utilization of by-products, new methods of marketing, improved methods of factory organization and management, concentration of manufacturing into large establishments and the localization of industries at advantageous points. These forces made possible increasing specialization, another characteristic of the transition from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture.

The industries that have been transferred from the farm to the factory may be classified into three groups: food products; textiles and clothing, including boots and shoes; and tobacco and a number of minor products. The food industries include meat packing, flour milling, the manufacturing of dairy products, the canning of fruits and vegetables, the preparation of poultry and its products, and the production of preserves and pickles. Many new industries have been added, such as the manufacture of beet sugar and the production of bread, pastries, and confections. The list of package products includes a considerable number of animal and vegetable commodities. The transfer of the textile and clothing and the boot and shoe industries from farm to factory has been studied chiefly from the standpoint of the development of manufacturing in the United States, but it deserves the atten-

tion of students of the history of American agriculture. It has been estimated that the household production of textiles in 1820 constituted more than two-thirds of the entire product. The age of homespun gave way to the factory system by the operation of the same forces that took the food industries out of the home and placed them in the factory.

These considerations emphasize the dependence of the factory upon the farm for the raw materials of industry. In 1860, flour and grist mills ranked first in manufactured products valued at \$248,580,000. In 1929, meat packing, formerly in the lead, ranked second in value of products, amounting to \$3,435,000,000. Livestock is now sold largely at public livestock markets, twelve of which are officially recognized by the United States Department of Agriculture: Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, St. Louis, St. Paul, Sioux City, St. Joseph, Denver, Wichita, Independence, Oklahoma City, and Fort Worth. These are the great meat-packing centers,—all located in the Prairie and Great Plains regions. The flour-milling industry is located in the great primary grain-markets near the areas of surplus production with Minneapolis leading in capacity as the greatest flour-milling center in the world. Many other industries based on the raw materials of agriculture have been established in these areas near the sources of supply while numerous experiments are being carried on for the utilization of the by-products. The migration of industries from the farm to the factory has made possible a high degree of specialization which characterizes farming in our times.

The history of the United States is in a real sense the history of transportation and communication. Prior to 1850, the principal avenues of trade and travel were the great interior waterways of North America: the Mississippi River with its navigable tributaries; and the Great Lakes with their Eastern connections, the Erie Canal and the Hudson River and the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence River. The Father of Waters gave unity to the Mississippi Valley which emerged triumphant in the election of Andrew Jackson. The westward extension of cotton and slavery split the Valley into two opposing sections and the War between the States became a duel between the

Prairies and the Great Plains and the Gulf Plains. The Eastern waterways provided an outlet for farm products along the Great Lakes frontier and therefore did not compete for the river traffic; but the railroads entered competing territory and diverted the surplus products of the Prairies from the Southern to the Eastern routes,—a process which was hastened by the War between the States and the perpetuation of political sectionalism in violation of geographic unity. The railroads revolutionized the whole course of internal trade. In 1860 there were 31,000 miles of railroad in operation, divided almost equally between the East, the South, and the West. In 1930 there were 250,000 miles of railroad in the country. Chicago became the greatest railway center in the world with St. Louis a competitor for first place. Meanwhile, five transcontinental railroads with lateral roads were constructed and trunk lines took the place of the earlier, short, disconnected lines. Electric roads were added. Hard-surfaced roads were constructed as motor vehicles became a symbol of the age of transportation; while the airplane and the airship are the heralds of a new era.

The development of transportation and the mechanization of agriculture diminished the dependence of the urban centers on the hinterland and increased the influence of physical geography on agricultural production. In the era of pioneer self-sufficiency farming was diversified, wheat and flax, for example, being grown on farms in nearly every locality to provide flour and linen for the farm families; whereas now their production is concentrated in regions where the physical conditions are most favorable, principally in the subhumid to the semiarid grass-land regions of the world. The Prairies and the Great Plains provinces possess natural advantages for certain well-defined types of farming: grain, livestock, and cotton; while the development of transportation and advancement in the technique of farming have made regional specialization possible. Geographic sectionalism has become a permanent influence in American history which "will arrest the tendency of the Eastern industrial type of society to flow across the continent and thus to produce a consolidated, homogeneous nation free from sections."

Transportation and commercial interests are now tending to emphasize once more the unity of the Mississippi Valley and give it a sectional consciousness. The inland-waterway movement with its emphasis on the restoration of the Mississippi River to an important position as a carrier of grain and other bulky products, the parallel trunk-line railroads, and the effect of the Panama Canal in building up the Gulf ports are factors contributing to a new sectionalism embracing the whole Mississippi Valley and expressing itself in politics and legislation. The question whether the Prairie and Great Plains provinces will be united in closer bonds with the East or the South has not yet been answered. "Geography favors the South and there are signs that she may win; or at least divide the spoils of commerce."

The westward movement of population and the extension and development of transportation facilities made it possible for geographic sections to devote themselves more exclusively to the production of those commodities for which they were best adapted: the East to manufacturing and commerce; the South to the raising of cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane; and the West to the production of grain and livestock. Thus were created three great economically interdependent sections bound together by reciprocal trading interests. The East became the home market for the surplus products of the West and South, receiving the grain and meat for its rapidly growing urban population and the raw materials for its factories and providing in return the manufactures upon which these sections were dependent. The same forces made possible intraregional specialization in farming, mining, and manufacturing which gave rise to metropolitan economy: the growth of industrial centers to which the surrounding territory has become tributary.

The mechanization of agriculture, however, gave rise to an annual product which far exceeded the demands of the home market but for which, fortunately, there existed a rapidly expanding market abroad. The development of rail and ocean transportation for handling bulky products and the reduction of freight rates transformed the local into a world market, the effect of which was two-fold: first, it subjected the agricultural systems

of the western European countries to a severe strain of competition which compelled large numbers of the rural population to abandon farming with the result that they either migrated to the industrial centers or emigrated to North America; and second, it stimulated the production of grain, livestock, cotton, and tobacco for which these countries offered a market. The rapid expansion in the volume of these exports during the latter part of the nineteenth century was followed by a marked decline from the turn of the century to the World War in grain and meat, the two great food staples of the Prairie Plains and the Great Plains provinces; while cotton and tobacco continued at a steady rate. The forces contributing to the reduction of grain and meat exports were the tariff policies of France and Germany; the competition of Argentina, Canada, Australia, and Russia; and the growth of the home market which was able to absorb the surplus at prices remunerative to the farmer. The World War stimulated production in all lines which continued to the Great Depression and the New Deal.

The agricultural situation in the United States is due in a considerable measure to the fact that Europe is unable to absorb its normal share of our exportable surplus. This condition will probably not be remedied until world markets again become stabilized, for the farmer is normally dependent on foreign markets for the absorption of 25 percent of his wheat, 15 percent of his pork and lard, 40 percent of his tobacco, and 60 percent of his cotton and he is dependent on Europe for the absorption of 80 percent of his exportable surplus. The reduced purchasing power of Europe is more or less permanent. Moreover, Europe has been going back to the farm, with the result that it has become more self-sufficient. But even if and when the European countries recover their normal purchasing power for farm products the position of the United States in the agricultural export trade is not assured. Argentina, Canada, Australia, and Russia have entered the agricultural revolution, supplying surplus grain and meat and the raw materials upon which industrial nations tend to be more and more dependent. The recovery of this trade is of primary concern to the Prairie and Great Plains provinces



which produce all the surplus grain and pork and a large part of the surplus cotton available for export. This is a long-time aspect of the agricultural problem. Several alternative roads to recovery have been proposed: economic nationalism, economic internationalism, and a well-planned middle course. The first would mean a reversal of modern history. The second and third would involve a revision of our foreign trade, investment, and tariff policies.<sup>7</sup>

The United States Department of Agriculture is the most important governmental agency in the world for the advancement of agriculture. The names of the various bureaus, among which may be mentioned the more recently established Bureau of Agricultural Economics, suggest the wide range of its investigations and research activities. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, the regular and permanent appropriations for this Department amounted to \$186,000,000 to which was added an emergency relief fund of \$132,000,000 for road construction. The influence of geographic sectionalism is revealed in the cabinet appointments. All the secretaries of agriculture since this office was elevated to cabinet rank in 1889 have come from the Prairie and Great Plains States: Cushman, Houston, and Hyde from Missouri; Rusk from Wisconsin; Morton from Nebraska; Jardine from Kansas; and Wilson, Meredith, Henry C. Wallace, and Henry A. Wallace from Iowa.

The land-grant colleges were established "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." These colleges were at first in reality colleges of science and arts. The applications of the sciences of agriculture and the industries were still to be developed.

<sup>7</sup> Wallace B. Donham, "The Way Out: Is it Nationalism?," in the *New York Times Magazine*, June 25, 1933; Sir Arthur Salter, "The Way Out: Internationalism?," *ibid.*, July 2, 1933; Owen D. Young, "Nationalism Remolds the World," *ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1933; Wallace B. Donham, "National Ideals and Internationalist Idols," in the *Harvard Business Review*, 11:389-408 (April, 1933); Henry A. Wallace, *America Must Choose* (*World Affairs Pamphlets*, No. 3. New York and Boston, published jointly by the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation, 1934); Charles S. Tippetts, *Autarchy: National Self-Sufficiency* (*Public Policy Pamphlets*, No. 6. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1933).

Science and arts constituted the trunk from which emerged later the schools of applied science which today constitute the divisions of the land-grant college: agriculture, engineering, home economics, and veterinary medicine; while the division of science and arts became the keystone of the arch uniting these schools. The function of the land-grant college is therefore to develop pure and applied courses of instruction suited to the needs of the groups for which these colleges were provided and to prepare leaders and research workers in these fields. The Prairie and Great Plains States are well represented by a number of colleges of this type which occupy a leading place in the advancement of agricultural education, and include teaching, research, and extension work. An integral part of the land-grant college is the experiment station for the promotion of scientific investigation.

Farmers' organizations may be divided into two groups: those that serve some special end or industry and those that seek to unite the farmers as a class. The first is represented by hundreds of organizations among which may be mentioned, by way of example, the farmers' elevator companies, the coöperative creamery associations, and the livestock shipping associations. The second is represented by the Grange, the Farmers' Alliances, and the Farm Bureau; and by the Greenback, the Populist, and the Farmer-Labor parties which are largely agricultural and Midwestern in origin. These organizations (local, state, and national) have performed a great service in the education of the farmer. They have brought him into a conscious relationship with the business world. They have awakened in him a realization of his educational needs and opportunities. They have helped to break down the barriers of individualism, to develop a feeling of class consciousness, to teach value lessons in coöperation, and to serve as agencies for the dissemination of new ideas and methods in farming.

Of inestimable importance also as an agency for the promotion of scientific and practical knowledge relating to farming is the agricultural press. It deals with a great variety of farm topics. It is an efficient agency for the popularization of the results of experiments conducted by the Federal and State departments of agriculture and the land-grant colleges and experiment stations.



These factors constitute some of the more significant aspects of the revolution in agriculture which transformed farming from a primitive, pioneer, and largely self-sufficing occupation into a business organized on a scientific, capitalistic, and commercial basis. The Prairies and the Great Plains were transformed into a great agricultural empire supplying the grain, the livestock products, and the cotton which made possible the industrial revolution. The most significant result of the agricultural revolution in the Prairies and the Great Plains was the development of inter-regional and intraregional specialization and the determination of the principal areas of production or farm belts described by the familiar terms: the corn belt, the wheat belt, the dairy belt, and the cotton belt. In an area lying northeast of a line drawn approximately from the north of Chesapeake Bay to the northwest corner of Iowa, the agricultural population became rather definitely devoted to the production of dairy products, vegetables, and fruit. To the southwest of this line the area including most of the prairie States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and the prairie portions of adjoining States was devoted to the raising of corn and the production of meat animals, depending for the most part on a domestic market, but normally disposing of about fifteen percent of its pork products in foreign markets. To the west and north of the corn belt was the spring-wheat belt, extending into Montana and to the west and south was the winter-wheat belt with Kansas as the center of production, about twenty percent of whose combined product was dependent on foreign markets while the remaining eighty percent was used to supply domestic market demands. In the south was the cotton belt advancing into Texas and Oklahoma which was dependent on foreign markets for sixty percent of the annual production.<sup>8</sup>

The farm belts of the Prairies and the Great Plains were rather definitely determined during the period from 1896 to 1914 which records a recovery from the depression of the early nineties and a steady and consistent rise in agricultural prices as a result of the development of a greater demand for agricultural products.

<sup>8</sup> Louis Bernard Schmidt and Earle Dudley Ross, editors, *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, 497-498 (New York, 1925).

With this recovery in prices production became stabilized and agricultural supply was brought into balance with the demand for farm products which contributed in a very substantial degree to the prosperity of the farmers in practically every area of the country. These belts extended to the outer limits of the Prairies. Beyond lay the grass lands and the cattle ranches of the Great Plains. Meanwhile the settlers were crossing the barriers of aridity and extending the farming area into the Great Plains,—the last agricultural frontier of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

The history of agriculture in the Prairies and the Great Plains is in large measure the history of the westward movement of these belts or areas of specialized farming with varying degrees of specialization and diversification within the farm belts. With this fact in mind, we may proceed with the inquiry: What is the place of the Prairies and the Great Plains in the rural economy of the Nation? For the answer to this question we must turn to the reports of the Bureau of the Census.

The United States Census of 1930 shows that the Prairie and Great Plains States reported 37 percent of the entire land area of the nation, 54 percent of the land in farms, 44 percent of the farms, 61 percent of the value of farm property, and 61 percent of the gross farm income. They contained 37 percent of the total population and 42 percent of the rural-farm population. They embraced 51 percent of the land in pasture and 64 percent of the land in crops. They produced 81 percent of the corn, 73 percent of the winter wheat, 62 percent of the spring wheat, 86 percent of the barley, 76 percent of the rye, 35 percent of the cotton, 81 percent of the wild hay, 48 percent of the tame hay, 35 percent of the potatoes, and 25 percent of the vegetables. They contributed 71 percent of the cattle on farms, 77 percent of the hogs, 37 percent of the sheep and lambs, 36 percent of the wool, 67 percent of the horses and 43 percent of the mules on farms, 60 percent of the

<sup>9</sup> Isaiah Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*, v-vi, 18-19, 76-80, 82-85 (American Geographical Society, *Special Publication 13*. New York, 1931). O. E. Baker, "Government Research in Aid of Settlers and Farmers in the Northern Great Plains of the United States," in W. L. G. Joerg, editor, *Pioneer Settlement*, 61-79 (American Geographical Society, *Special Publication 14*. New York, 1932).

chickens, 57 percent of the turkeys, 56 percent of the ducks, and 73 percent of the geese. They furnished 72 percent of the value of flour and gristmill products, 72 percent of the meat packing, 81 percent of the creamery butter and 77 percent of the cheese.

It may be noted further that Iowa led the Prairie and Great Plains States in the production of corn, hogs, chickens, and geese; in the number of horses on farms; and in the valuation of farm property. Texas led in land area, number of farms, land in farms, land in pasture, land in crops, and rural-farm population; in the production of cotton, wool, and vegetables; and in the number of cattle, sheep and lambs, goats, and mules on farms. Kansas led in the production of winter wheat; North Dakota in spring wheat and rye; Minnesota in barley, potatoes, creamery butter, and flour; Wisconsin in tame hay, milk, and cheese; Illinois in meat packing; and Nebraska in wild hay.

The expansion of agricultural production from the World War to the inauguration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act under the Roosevelt Administration, despite reduced market demands, is explained by the increased efficiency of production and the inelasticity of agriculture. The factors contributing to the increased efficiency of production are the substitution of gas for horse and mule feed; the improvements in animal husbandry; the shifts from the less productive toward the more productive crops per acre; and the shifts from the less productive toward the more productive animals per unit of feed consumed.<sup>10</sup> The factors contributing to the inelasticity of agriculture are a large proportion of fixed to variable expenses, due to the fact that a relatively high percentage of the entire investment of farming is in land and fixed capital; the comparative immobility of the agricultural population which is accounted for by the fact that farming is not only an occupation but also a mode of living; and the large degree of self-sufficiency which still characterizes farming in spite of its commercialization. The inelasticity of agriculture prevents not only the rapid expansion but also the rapid contraction of

<sup>10</sup> O. E. Baker, "Agricultural and Forest Land," in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, 1:105-107 (New York, 1933).

production in response to changing economic conditions which typifies the industries.

The present agricultural situation in the United States is due to various influences which have been impinging upon the market for the surplus products of the Prairies and the Great Plains. The World War is responsible for a large number of these influences. Certain economic developments which were inconspicuous before the war, but which antedated it, were accelerated or modified in a way to make them more effective during the last ten years. The development of economic nationalism is a blanket phrase which covers most of these developments; while the diminishing rate of population increase and the changes in the habits of consumption also constitute important factors affecting the demand for farm products. These are some of the permanent factors in the problem of agricultural reorganization and adjustment.

There has been a great volume of discussion of the agricultural situation since 1920. Hundreds of articles, pamphlets, and reports, and not a few books have been published, nearly all of which are concerned with the immediate situation and but few with the long-time aspects of the problem. "It is rather surprising. . .", observes Dr. C. L. Holmes, "that so much reliance, apparently, has been placed, both by the popular mind and by the supposedly more thoughtful leaders, in such immediately applicable palliatives as more and cheaper credit, lower freight rates, reforms in marketing, co-operative action, and tariff protection. It is true that the situation demanded immediate action and some of the measures may have been justified by the degree of temporary relief they are affording; but it is very evident that the ills of agriculture are the result of more far-reaching and more permanent causes than those to which they have usually been attributed and that genuine relief from them must be sought through means quite different from those so urgently demanded by the farmer's numerous voluntary spokesmen."<sup>11</sup>

A consideration of the long-time aspect of the agricultural

<sup>11</sup> C. L. Holmes, "The Economic Future of Our Agriculture," in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 32:505-506 (October, 1924).

problem in the farm belts of the Prairies and the Great Plains and of the factors which have contributed to the present situation and are still operating to extend it into the future leads Dr. Holmes to conclude: "first, that the present depressed condition of our agriculture is due primarily to certain more or less permanent results of the world-war, first, in the direction of expanding our agricultural output and, second, of impairing our foreign market for agricultural products and of redirecting the currents and changing the content of our international trade; second, that the recovery of our agricultural industry depends upon the adjustment of our agricultural production, both qualitatively and quantitatively, to the domestic market; and third, that the result of these necessary adjustments will be the beginning of a new era in American farming, representing as profound a change as that which came with the shift from self-sufficing to commercial agriculture which took place during the second half of the nineteenth century."<sup>12</sup> This is the long-time aspect of the farm problem which must be considered in dealing with the immediate situation through legislation and voluntary effort.

Whither rural economy in the Prairies and the Great Plains? The rapid advancement of agriculture in these provinces has been based on the disposal of surplus production to the industrial population of Western Europe. The changed situation in the European markets seems to be more or less permanent. Authorities are in general agreement that as the European countries become stabilized they will tend to become agriculturally more self-sufficient. The prosperity of the American farmer will therefore depend more largely on the growth of our domestic non-agricultural population for the creation of a market which will absorb practically the entire domestic production at prices remunerative to the farmer. The time has now come, indeed, when we must place less dependence in the production of the great world staples such as wheat, pork, and cotton and devote ourselves to the study of the problem of an agricultural production program balanced with domestic demands for farm products. This will mean a

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 505.



larger output of dairy products, vegetables, fruit, and other perishable and semi-perishable commodities. Dr. O. E. Baker has recently expressed the conclusion that "a rise in the standard of living, including increased consumption of animal foodstuffs, in association with a planned utilization of the land, may prove a slowly attainable but substantial means of solving the problem of the agricultural 'surplus'. . . . Such a permanent solution of this 'surplus' problem is apparently dependent on increasing productivity of labor, wider distribution of the national income, education of the people relative to food values, and the development of an integrated national, state, and county program of land utilization."<sup>13</sup>

This reconnaissance brings us finally to the crux of the farm problem in the Prairies and the Great Plains: the relation of the farmer to the land. It may be urged at this point that the first tenet in an agricultural philosophy is the independent farm proprietorship; the family-sized farm. What will become of the family farm-unit in the capitalistic commercial age? Will it remain the dominant type of farm business organization? Or will it give way to corporation farming applying the methods of large business concerns to the tasks of farming with the result that the rural community, composed of owner-operator farmers, will be permanently lost? Or will it decline toward the peasant levels of existence which characterize farm life in Europe?

Considerable interest has been manifested in large-scale farming, corporation farming, and chain farming since the World War. Some conspicuous developments have taken place; but the movement toward the consolidation of holdings and toward farm operations on a large scale has not gone far enough to justify the conclusion that it will succeed. The mechanization of agriculture has indeed increased considerably the size of farms and the amount of investment in farms particularly in the Great Plains; but this does not necessarily involve corporation farming or absentee ownership. It is quite consistent with the family-sized farm which prevails, even though the farm may be larger. The

<sup>13</sup> Quoted from a letter by O. E. Baker to the writer, July 27, 1933.

same tendency, though less pronounced, may be noted in the newer cotton areas and in some parts of the western corn belt. Corporation farming has had a set back since 1920 with little prospect of revival in the near future for reasons inherent in the nature of a business corporation. A corporation assumes operation for profit. It requires continuous operation. It is dependent on the division of labor. It must build up large reserves out of previous profits in order to withstand unusual deflation. Farming is not only an occupation or a business; it is a mode of life. It is not a mechanical problem. It is a biological problem, involving the sowing, growing, ripening, and harvesting of crops; the raising of animals; and the daily and seasonal variations in the weather. This is a fundamental distinction which makes it impossible to organize farming along industrial lines. Corporation farming may indeed again be tried when prices become stabilized. It is possible that grain farming in regions of specialized production may eventually be turned over to corporations. In that event it is probable that the family-sized farm owners would use the cheap grain produced by the corporation farms to conduct a skillful livestock business.

Peasant farming represents the other possible extreme. This term is not very clearly defined in the literature on American farming. In one sense, it is a feudalistic term connoting a condition removed but a small degree from serfdom and hence of doubtful validity with reference to the United States. In American terminology peasant farming represents a farm economy in which there is very little capital invested, particularly in the form of labor-saving implements and machinery; the income is meager, and the standard of living is extremely low. It may or may not denote tenancy and the threatening landlord. These conditions have all been impending in the Great Depression. The prevailing low prices have tended to transform farming from a commercial into a self-sufficing occupation. We have always had a fringe of so-called subsistence farmers, particularly in the areas most unfavorable for farming; and we will always have this fringe. But that fringe became very largely the whole garment by 1933. Just what it will be when the process of readjustment is com-

pleted and a new normalcy is established cannot, of course, be foreseen. It appears, however, that with the substantial contraction of the market for our agricultural products, much of which bids fair to be relatively permanent, we shall have in the future a considerably larger and more important element of subsistence farming than we have had in the past. The farmers of the Prairies and the Great Plains will resist the lowered status of the peasant farmer or the subsistence farmer, but many may be compelled to do so by force of circumstances. The unemployed population of towns and cities will take advantage of this type of farming as affording the only alternative for a livelihood; while factory workers will tend to drift toward part-time farming. The latter should be studied further from the standpoint of the decentralization of industry.<sup>14</sup> The soundest way to take care of the seasonal unemployment problem is by the gradual moving of industry to smaller communities where it will be possible for workers to live on small tracts of land within fifteen or twenty miles of the city. This movement will solve the problem of occasional periods of idleness in the factory.

The independent farm proprietorship, designated more generally as the family-sized farm, now commands our attention. By this term is meant a farm "large enough to occupy the reasonable working time of the farmer and his family" by the use of "the best and most efficient tools and machinery known to the farming world, with ample horse power, or some other form of power, to drive that machinery."<sup>15</sup> The essential characteristics of the family farm-unit are a moderate investment of capital particularly in implements, machinery, and other equipment; a substantial income; and a comparatively high standard of living. It contemplates economic independence and the enjoyment of a reasonable share of the comforts and luxuries of life. It implies education and refinement. A community composed of family-sized farms operated by their owners provides the best schools and churches. It develops the best real rural leadership. It pro-

<sup>14</sup> See article on "Great Industries now Entering the Stage of Decentralization" in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Dec. 31, 1932.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Nixon Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*, 169 (Boston, 1911).

motes cooperation most effectively. The family farm is deeply rooted in American life. It constitutes today, as it has in the past, the basic tenet of millions of American families. It is more than a business; it is a mode of life. It must be maintained if our civilization is to rest on a sound and healthy basis.

This does not mean that the family-sized farm will prevail as the characteristic type of farming in the United States without a thorough study and understanding of the problem and the formulation of agricultural policies with this objective definitely in mind.<sup>16</sup> The family-sized farm has come to the crossroads. The liquidation process through which it has been passing and which is still impending for the future constitutes the most serious crisis that has confronted the farm owner in the Prairies and the Great Plains since pioneer days. It seems to be much more severe than its counterpart in the nineties which I can recall from my boyhood experience on an Iowa farm.

The family farm-unit varies in acreage and amount of investment depending on the type of farming practiced. In the corn belt the normal size of the family farm has not been increased appreciably during the last two decades; while the same period witnessed a remarkable expansion in the average size of farms in the Great Plains. Several classes of the family-sized farm are to be considered: first, the farm that is operated by the owner and used as a home for himself and his family, and is practically if not all paid for; second, the farm that is used by the owner burdened with a heavy mortgage indebtedness against the farm; and third, the farm that is operated by a tenant and is heavily mortgaged. The first class constitutes the ideal family farm. It is free of mortgage indebtedness. It creates a spirit of independence and inspires self-respect. It enables the farmer and his family to conduct the farm enterprise wisely with a view to securing the best returns to both land and labor. If properly managed, it will reduce living expenses to a minimum for each outlay. The operation of a farm on such a plan will bring returns to the farmer

<sup>16</sup> C. L. Holmes, "Economic Policy and the New Proprietorship in Agriculture," in Edward A. Duddy, editor, *Economic Policy for American Agriculture*, 93-111 (Chicago, 1932).

irrespective of the market price for farm products; and it will, moreover, enable him to secure a surplus of cash which will, of course, flow into the industrial field. This class of farm has been able to a remarkable degree to tide over the Great Depression. Many farmers of this class would have been in a position to meet the emergency more readily if they had not given up the use of horses and man-labor for high-priced modern machinery. They would have saved the expense of the original equipment and they would have avoided the depreciation, fuel, and repair costs.

The second class of family-sized farm is operated under the heavy load of mortgage indebtedness and other burdens which deprive the owner of that freedom and independence which should be the possession of the tiller of the soil. Moreover, the income from this kind of farm must be divided between two parties: the farmer and the mortgage holder, with the result that if prices for farm products are deflated the mortgage indebtedness becomes a greater burden and the farmer becomes discouraged as he realizes the increasing difficulty of meeting his obligations.

The third class of the family-sized farm is operated under the burden of providing income for three parties: the tenant on the farm who expects to make not only a living but also a profit; the nominal title-holder who holds the equity which may be large or small and expects to support his family from the rental on the farm; and the mortgage holder who expects to be well paid for the amount of money he has invested in the farm. In this case the farm gets the worst of it because all parties concerned are under the necessity of getting the most out of the land while that is possible. This class of farm has by the cooperation of the interested parties survived and proceeded in fairly good order in times when prices for farm products were high but it has not been able to withstand the deflation of prices which characterizes the Great Depression. There is another class of farm: the farm that is paid for and the owner leases it out and retires to town. In this case two families expect to make a good living from the same farm. The interest of owner and tenant are practically identical: both want to get as much as possible out of the land.

These considerations of the relation of the farmer to the land



and of the place of the family-sized farm in American civilization lead to but one conclusion:

We shall be a sound nation when we have a sound agriculture. We shall have a sound agriculture when we free it from speculation and a swift turnover of holdings, with its consequence, unbearable debts, and indemnity upon the land. We can do it without disturbing any just rights or equities. If we choose.<sup>17</sup>

There is no other choice without inviting rural decay and ultimate disaster.

We have already won a moral victory over the Great Depression under the leadership of President Roosevelt. We have entered upon a period of transition and readjustment which constitutes the opening phase of a new era in American agriculture. We seem to be on our way. This new era when something like stabilization shall have been reached, will be characterized by greater intensity in the use of our most favorably situated and highly productive land, higher technical efficiency through the use of improved methods and equipment, and a high-class population in which agricultural education must be effective to a much larger degree than at present. But if it is necessary to have a highly developed agriculture accompany a high standard of living for the farming class we must have a sufficient amount of social control to keep open alternative economic opportunities in other industries in order to insure the free movement to and from agriculture demanded by changing conditions. This can be secured only by placing both agriculture and industry on a sound basis. "Perhaps the greatest difficulty in the whole matter," it has been observed, "resides in an age-old tendency to view rural life merely as a means to industrial greatness rather than as itself a co-ordinate concern of social polity."

Our nation has advanced to a point where we must modify, in important respects, the philosophy of individualism that has dominated American thought so completely in the past. American agriculture, if it is to maintain its important position in the national economic and social system, must realize that the time has passed when the individualism of pioneer days is sufficient to

<sup>17</sup> Alvin S. Johnson, "The Farmers' Indemnity," in Jacob H. Hollander, editor, *Economic Essays Contributed in Honor of John Bates Clark*, 228 (New York, 1927).

overcome any difficulties that may be met. The individual farmer can no longer succeed by his own unaided efforts. In earlier days the things which made for success or failure were largely in the control of the individual farmer. Today, other factors beyond the influence of the individual lean upon the success of a farm enterprise in ways undreamed of fifty years ago. Formerly the man who handled his resources efficiently was a successful farmer. If he was industrious he was assured of success. Today even the most thrifty, efficient, and industrious may fail through no fault of his own. Forces have been set in motion with which society alone can cope. The individual is helpless in attempting to deal with the larger forces.

The "rugged individualism" of the pioneer period played its part in the colonization of the West. Individual initiative and resourcefulness were developed in response to the needs of a frontier society. Frontier society was essentially individualistic and to a large extent economically self-sufficient. *Laissez faire* has had its day. This does not mean the end of individualism. Individualism will always play an important part in American society as long as our democratic system of government endures; for democracy means liberty and the opportunity of everyone to rise to the highest and best of which he is capable. This does not mean unrestricted individualism which permits exploitation of the masses. A higher form of individualism must be developed. This is cooperative individualism.

The problems of an agricultural society can no longer be left to chance. For solving these problems, the prevailing "economic fatalism" must give way. The notion that "nothing can be done," that the course of economic events is inevitable, must be replaced by the idea that the actions of society can and do affect profoundly the course of events, that intelligent action modifies the direction in which economic forces work themselves out, and that society can modify to a considerable extent the effects of economic forces by making it possible for individuals to adjust themselves to these forces easily and quickly.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A. D. Lindsay, "Individualism," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 7:674-680 (New York, 1932); Charles A. Beard, "The Myth of Rugged American Individualism," in *Harpers Magazine*, 164:13-22 (December, 1931).

The covered wagon rolls no more. The songs of the pioneers are silent. The open range is gone. We look no more at physical horizons with an expectant sense of uncertainty which recalls the lines of Kipling in *The Explorer*.

"Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the Ranges—  
"Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go!"

Immigration has been reduced from a million a year to the vanishing point. Pioneer families no longer blossom with a dozen children for whom fortune waits just over the edge of the prairie. Population increases more and more slowly. By 1980, it will probably become stationary. After that it may decline. The great dream of natural exhaustless plenty is over. The age of geographical pioneering is ended.

We are in the dawn of a new era in which the more intricate and delicate task of adjustment of human relations must be met. This new era will be one of reappraisal and stabilization. The ideals of liberty and equality, established by the founders of the republic, must be reaffirmed in these changing times. There is a growing desire for tranquillity. We must enter upon the task of settling down. This will mean a shift from the great material adventure which began with Jamestown and Plymouth and is now ended to the social or spiritual adventure. This will provide a release of our national energies into a new and more splendid field,—a new realization in a changed society of our American ideals founded in our pioneering experience. We shall not give up these ideals in favor of Old World panaceas. There are limitations to material things. There are no limitations to the human spirit.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> R. L. Duffus, "Whither? A Survey of the Nation's Course," in the *New York Times*, Jan. 8, 1933.

## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS

### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

American historical scholarship sustained a severe loss in the death of Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, professor of American history at Yale University and recognized as the outstanding historian of the South. His death on January 21, 1934, at the age of fifty-six, terminated a career that had been brilliant and fruitful and that promised a still more notable future.

Professor Phillips was born at La Grange, Georgia, on November 4, 1877. His early life was spent in the South, and most of his formal education was pursued there. He received his first academic degree at the University of Georgia in 1897 and his master's degree two years later. After two years as a fellow and tutor at his alma mater, he went to Columbia University where his doctorate was completed in 1902.

From 1902 to 1908 he taught at the University of Wisconsin under the stimulating leadership of Frederick Jackson Turner. In 1908 he became professor of history and political science at Tulane University. He moved to the University of Michigan as professor of American history in 1911 and remained there for eighteen years.

The year 1929 was rather remarkable in Professor Phillips's career. Columbia University conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of letters for "distinction in scholarship and service," and Yale University an honorary master of arts degree. For the manuscript of his *Life and Labor in the Old South*, he was awarded the \$2,500 prize offered by Little, Brown, and Company for the best unpublished work on American history and soon afterward he received an Albert Kahn fellowship of \$5,000 for a year of travel. While on a trip around the world, he stopped in central Africa, there, as he expressed it, to see the African, whose American

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from the London (Ontario) *Free Press*, February 27, 1934.

contacts he knew so well, in his native lair. Professor Phillips presented a discerning résumé of his observations while on this tour at the dinner of the Agricultural History Society with the American Historical Association at Boston, on December 29, 1930. This address appeared with the title, "Plantations East and South of Suez," in *Agricultural History* for July, 1931. After his return to the United States he moved from Michigan to Yale where his seminar at once attracted keen students of the South and of the questions of slavery and abolition.

In a very competent appraisal of the historical work of Phillips the *Chattanooga News* says:

. . . the old South was far more than a place of moonlight and roses; there was more than the scent of oleander in the air. In part, it was a patriarchal society, with the courage and the crudeness of the frontier. Dr. Phillips saw not one South but a dozen, and not one slavery system, but two at least, one the commercial, with its coffles, slave jails and auction blocks, and the other with patriarchal relations involving a high sense of duty from the big house to the cabin. Furthermore, he rejected the theory that the Civil War was any 'irrepressible conflict,' and laid the responsibility for it upon blunder and chance.

Rejecting the emotional tirades of the Abolitionists, and equally discounting the sugary sentimentality of the moonlight and roses school, the Yale historian sought truth and understanding and moved toward it with a style which was a delight to read. The South has lost a just and understanding friend in Ulrich Phillips, but our history has been improved by his thoughtful tillage of the field.

The historical output of Professor Phillips was considerable. His first book, *Georgia and State Rights*, won the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association in 1901. His *American Negro Slavery* is the recognized authoritative study of this large subject. In addition to these and to his *Life and Labor in the Old South*, he also wrote *The Life of Robert Toombs*, and *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*, and edited several volumes of documents. His great continuing interest was the plantation system of the Old South and he wandered up and down the South, when time permitted, sometimes in company with Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Historical Association, collecting manuscripts bearing upon the early development of the section, finding many such documents in the attics of old homes.



He had a large collection of this source material and also a valuable library of material bearing upon the field in which he worked.

Phillips was particularly happy as a mentor and guide for advanced students in history. His was a most attractive seminar. He was ever ready with suggestion, encouragement, and praise when it was deserved. There was much likeness between Phillips and the late Professor Turner. Phillips prepared the tribute to Turner which was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Toronto on December 28, 1932. Much of what was said with respect to the work of Turner could be said of Phillips. There is today a great informal fraternity in the history group in the United States who are termed "Turner's disciples." A similar group would feel honored at being known as "Phillips's disciples." Already a movement has been inaugurated to bring out a memorial volume of essays by those who owed inspiration to the master who has gone.

The complaint is often made that historical writing is dull and lifeless. No such charge could be brought against the writings of Ulrich Phillips. He was a master of style. One who reads his *Life and Labor in the Old South* begins soon to realize that here is prose that is musical, where scarcely a word could be changed that would improve the sense or sound. In his study there stood prominently a dictionary in several volumes, worn and tattered by constant use. He had learned to write by laborious effort.

All over this continent there are men who will remember long the personality of this man who taught them when they were students. They will remember his radiant personality and his good comradeship. Some will have enduring memories of days spent in camp where, in the intervals of fun and play, he discoursed wisely on history and the writing of history. His impress upon the teaching of the history of the South will be reflected for years to come in a moderation and a sanity that is the certain accompaniment of truth and understanding.

Professor Phillips served as president of the Agricultural History Society during 1932-33, and it is therefore especially appropriate that a bibliography of his writings should be included in

its journal. The bibliography indicates in some measure the extent of the debt of agricultural historians and economists to Professor Phillips.

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1904

"Conservatism and progress in the cotton belt." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 3:1-10. January, 1904.

"By taking thought, a people may adopt broad policies which will better its own internal condition and at the same time increase its beneficial influence upon the world at large. . . . The South has sometimes followed policies because they were traditional or because there was a wide-spread superficial feeling that they were right and best, and naturally the South has at times gone wrong. A safeguard against error, weakened of course by our human limitations, lies in the study of present and future problems in the light of the past, and in the comparison of the views reached by truth-seeking

<sup>2</sup> In the preparation of this bibliography, Mrs. Ulrich B. Phillips has kindly examined a preliminary draft and called the compiler's attention to items which would otherwise have been overlooked.

investigators. The present article claims attention merely as one of the efforts in interpretation which may aid future thinkers in gaining a fuller knowledge and a more perfect understanding of the general problem."—p. 1-2.

"Making cotton pay." *World's Work*, 8:4782-4792, illus. May, 1904.

"The story of a progressive cotton planter [J. W. Young near Prattville, Alabama]—inducing shiftless negroes to work efficiently—growing subsidiary crops—rich opportunities found in growing cotton according to twentieth-century methods."—*Subtitle*.

"The plantation as a civilizing factor." *Sewanee Review*, 12:257-267. July, 1904.

"The conditions of our problem are as follows: 1. A century or two ago the negroes were savages in the wilds of Africa. 2. Those who were brought to America, and their descendants, have acquired a certain amount of civilization, and are now in some degree fitted for life in modern civilized society. 3. This progress of the negroes has been in very large measure the result of their association with civilized white people. 4. An immense mass of the negroes is sure to remain for an indefinite period in the midst of a civilized white nation. The problem is, How can we best provide for their peaceful residence and their further progress in this nation of white men? and how can we best guard against their lapsing back into barbarism? As a possible solution for a large part of the problem, I suggest the plantation system."—p. 258.

"The public archives of Georgia." American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1903) 1:439-474. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1904.

The following are the sub-captions: State archives; Records in the Department of State, Atlanta (records from Great Britain; records of the Government in Georgia,—legislative journals, acts of the general assembly, commissions and charters, land records, miscellaneous original documents); Records in the Executive Department, Atlanta; Local archives (records of Baldwin County; records of Milledgeville).

1905

"The economic cost of slaveholding in the cotton belt." *Political Science Quarterly*, 20:257-275. June, 1905.

"Whether negro slavery was an advantage in the early colonies and whether it became a burden in the later period, and, if so, how the change occurred, and why the people did not relieve themselves of the incubus—these are a few of the fundamental problems to which the student must address himself. The present essay, based on a study of slave prices, deals with the general economic conditions of slaveholding, and shows the great transformation caused by the opening of the cotton belt and the closing of the African slave trade."—p. 257.

"Georgia local archives." American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1904:555-596. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1905.

Part of the report of the Public Archives Commission, 1904.

The archives of Oglethorpe County, Habersham County, and Clarke County, and the records of the town of Athens are described.

Also issued separately (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905. 555-596 p.).

"The overproduction of cotton and a possible remedy." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 4:148-158. April, 1905.

"If no more than enough labor is devoted to cotton, the producers and the country get the benefit of monopoly prices. But if too much labor be employed, the monopoly is ruined and hardly anybody is benefited but the consumers, and they in an infinitesimal degree.

"With firm resolution and concerted action it would appear possible for the State governments of the cotton belt to *protect* the cotton-raising industry from cut-throat competition by taxing its product, and to promote other industries at the same time by devoting to their aid the proceeds of the cotton tax . . . a tax on a monopolized commodity would in the average case, by decreasing the output, raise the price so that the producer would in the long run be relieved of all the burden of the tax and even probably receive an actual surplus income considerably greater than the amount of that tax."—p. 158.

"Let us keep on building factories, and take away all the profit we can from the outside districts, which are parasites upon the South, and let us plant more orchards and vineyards and broad fields of varied crops; let us raise the best sorts of grasses and forage crops, and cover the land with lowing herds and thrifty creameries. In a word, let us . . . make use of our staple product as a special advantage through which to secure wealth for a complete and rounded and self-reliant industrial system. Such must be our objective; the ways and means of reaching it must be an ever-present problem."—p. 158.

"Transportation in the ante-bellum South: an economic analysis." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 19:434-451. May, 1905.

"This article is intended as an introduction to one or more monographs now in course of preparation. The sources of information which have been used are principally newspaper files, railroad reports, and other pamphlets, and manuscript documents. The research is materially aided by a grant of funds from the Carnegie Institution of Washington."—note, p. 434.

The article is the same as chapter 1 of *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860*.

#### 1906

"An American state-owned railroad." *Yale Review*, 15:259-282. November, 1906.

"Instances of government ownership and operation of railroads have been rare enough in America to put historical data on the subject at a premium. The Western and Atlantic Railroad furnishes perhaps the most important example in our history. That road was begun under a legislative act of 1836, built with public funds, and operated by the State government [of Georgia] during periods of prosperity and depression, of peace, war, and political reconstruction until 1870, when it was finally leased to a private corporation."

"Documentary collections and publication in the older States of the South." American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1905) 1:200-204. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1906.

"Attempting no exhaustive treatment of the subject, this paper merely presents a few observations from personal acquaintance with conditions in the field."—p. 200.

"The origin and growth of the Southern black belts." *American Historical Review*, 11:798-816, map, tables, graphs. July, 1906.

"The present study is concerned with the tendency of slavery as a system of essentially capitalistic industry to concentrate wealth, such as there was, within the hands of a single economic class and within certain distinctive geographical areas. Aside from land, slaves were in the South by far the principal form of wealth. The study of the administrative and geographical concentration of slave property is of course a study of the growth of the plantation system and of the black belts produced by it."—p. 798.

1907

"The slave labor problem in the Charleston district." *Political Science Quarterly*, 22:416-439. September, 1907.

"The essential features and tendencies of a régime can best be analyzed in those instances in which it has been most fully developed and most persistently maintained. Isolated phases of American negro slavery may be studied with some success in many places and periods, but its complex working and far-reaching effects can perhaps be learned with relative completeness only from a study of some long settled and very black portion of the Southern black belts. The best example for our purpose is the low-lying coast region of South Carolina and Georgia, which had its focus at Charleston and may well be called the Charleston district."—p. 416.

1909

"Economic and political essays in the ante-bellum South." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 7:173-199. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1909].

The following topics are considered: theoretical and general economics; agriculture; mining, manufactures, transportation and commerce; labor; Negroes; slavery; social surveys; political essays, theoretical; constitutional construction; party politics; sectionalism; bibliography.

"Georgia in the Federal Union, 1776-1861." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 2:146-171, illus. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1909].

The following topics are considered: condition in 1776; first constitution; Georgia in Revolutionary War; conditions at close of War; Georgia's part in forming the U. S. Constitution; State constitution amended; State sovereignty—eleventh amendment; Yazoo land sale; growth of State; War of 1812; State politics; Indian affairs—the Creeks; the Cherokee controversy; settlement of Indian lands and movement of population; railroads; slavery question; secession; bibliography.

"Racial problems, adjustments and disturbances [in the ante-bellum South]." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 4:194-241. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1909].

The following topics are considered: the Indians; the Negroes; origin of the American slavery system; character of legislative regulations; actual adjustments not shaped by the law, but by private expediency; problems of the masters; church adjustments; the foreign slave trade, its volume; the trade in



Africa and on the sea; the landing and sale of cargoes; demand for Africans eager; problems of slave trade restriction; State prohibition of the foreign trade; the domestic slave trade; origin and progress of the domestic slave trade; trade routes and methods; State restrictions; volume of traffic; the question of cruelty; maladjustments under the slavery régime; runaways and desperadoes; outrages and lynch law; stolen slaves; gangs of kidnappers; slave conspiracies and revolts; free Negroes and mulattoes; conclusion; bibliography.

"The slavery issue in Federal politics." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 4:382-422. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1909].

The following topics are considered: the causes of sectionalism; the beginning of slavery in America; slavery in England, the Sommersett case; localization of the American problem; the grounds for disapproving slavery; the anti-slavery movement of the Revolutionary period; the conservative reaction, 1790-1815; the problem of intersectional adjustments in the period from 1815 to 1861; the crucial problem of controlling the Senate; anti-slavery societies; the Garrisonian agitation; the radical political abolitionists; the trend of Southern reaction, 1830 to 1860; the aggressive strategy of the abolitionists; incendiary documents in the mails; anti-slavery petitions in Congress; the fugitive slave problem; State interferences with rendition; the underground railroad; the Rendition Act of 1850; "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; the fire-eaters; the issue of slavery in the territories; the Wilmot Proviso; Kansas-Nebraska, a forlorn hope; secession; bibliography.

"The South Carolina Federalists." *American Historical Review*, 14:529-543, 731-743. April, July, 1909.

"Original material for Southern history has been so scarce at the centres where American historiographers have worked, that the general writers have had to substitute conjecture for understanding in many cases when attempting to interpret Southern developments. The Federalists of the South have suffered particularly from misrepresentation and neglect. . . . The South Carolina group appears to have been typical of the whole Southern wing of the Federalists; and because of the greater fullness of the extant documents and the more apparent unity of the theme, the present essay will treat of the origin, character and early career of the party in the state where it was most prominent, rather than in the Southern region at large."—p. 529.

#### 1910

"The decadence of the plantation system." *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals*, 35 (116):37-41. January, 1910.

A paper read in substance at the initial meeting of the Tulane Society of Economics, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 12, 1909.

"Since the replacement of domestic manufacturing by the factory has become established in history as the industrial revolution, the counter replacement of the plantation system by peasant farming or other decentralized types of rural industry seems to require description as an industrial counter-revolution. That this counter-revolution has not wrought such havoc in the South as it did in Jamaica and Hayti is at the same time a cause for warm congratulation and an evidence of the greater vigor, adaptability and re-

sourcefulness of both the white and Negro elements of our continental population."

"The economics of slave labor in the South." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 5:121-124. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1910].

"On the whole, negro slave labor was probably not as productive as free white labor among modern industrial nations; yet in view of its being negro labor, first, last and always, and slave labor incidentally, it was brought in the ante-bellum régime to have a distinctly high degree of efficiency. . . . Slave labor was, . . . on the whole, productive but less profitable to the communities employing it than to the outside world."

"The economics of the slave trade, foreign and domestic." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 5:124-129. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1910].

"The American slave-labor régime was developed, under a money economy, to enable European settlers and capitalists to exploit American resources with the aid of African labor. . . .

"Among the positive economic effects of the domestic branch of the slave trade were the following: It made a passive laboring population extremely mobile, and carried the negroes into the districts where since the abolition of slavery they have sluggishly remained. The current of the trade flowed southwestward and westward from Virginia and the Carolinas. It transferred many slaves to severer task masters, and many to masters who could and did provide them with better food, clothing and shelter—that is, it increased the vigor and efficiency of slave labor. It drained earnings out of the developing districts for the benefit of the older communities where industry was decadent, and thereby made it to the interest of the border states to maintain the institution of slavery. On the whole the slave trade was inseparably a part of the slave-labor régime as it actually prevailed, and the problems of the economic value and vice of the slave trade cannot be divorced from the economic problem of slavery in general nor from the question whether the negroes were fit for industrial and legal freedom in the American community."

"Financial crises in the ante-bellum South." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 5:435-441. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1910].

"The régime, which the individual slaveholders were practically as powerless as the slaves to remodel, impelled the investment of earnings in prosperous times in low-grade laborers at high prices; and it intensified the loss from panics because of its lack of fluid securities. . . .

" . . . the ante-bellum plantation communities . . . gained less solid advantages in their prosperous periods and lost more in their periods of adversity than do normally constituted capitalistic communities employing free labor. . . ."

"Railroads in the South." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 5:358-367. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1910].

"The railroads launched and constructed in the Southeast in the thirties and forties fall mainly into two groups: (1) Lines parallel to the seacoast,

to facilitate the transit of mails, passengers, and freight between the South and the North. . . . (2) More important for freight traffic and more vital in their economic service were a number of roads built in directions perpendicular to the coast. . . .

"By 1860 the South was equipped with a good skeleton railroad system, reaching all vital parts of the territory east of the Mississippi River, and handling with fair efficiency the relatively light traffic of the sparsely settled country. . . . At the end of the war the Southern railroads were in a condition of almost complete physical wreck; but the comparative freedom of the companies from bonded debts enabled them to rehabilitate their properties in the following years with considerable speed. Meanwhile during the war, whereas the rivers in the South proved to be lines of weakness and disaster in the Confederate defence, the railroads nearly all proved to be lines of strength, of the utmost service in supplying men, munitions, and sustenance to the threatened districts on all the borders."

"Railway transportation in the South." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 6:305-316, illus. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1910].

"The Southern Whigs, 1834-1854." *Essays in American History Dedicated to Frederick Jackson Turner*, 203-229. New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1910.

"The great central body of southern Whigs were the cotton producers, who were first state-rights men pure and simple and joined the Whigs from a sense of outrage at Jackson's threat of coercing South Carolina. With Calhoun and Tyler at their head, they entered an alliance with Webster, Clay, and the National Republicans as a choice of evils. For several years it was merely an alliance which was established, not a union; . . . The basis of amity within the coalition was of course an agreement, partly implicit and partly expressed, that all questions as between paternalism and state rights should be waived for the sake of a joint campaign against presidential autocracy and irresponsible democracy."—p. 209.

The first part of chapter 3 of *The Life of Robert Toombs* is based on this essay.

"State and local public regulation of industry in the South." *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 5:475-478. Richmond, Va., Southern Historical Publication Society. [1910].

"In Virginia, Georgia, and Louisiana, in the very early stages of the colonization, the governments conducted and regulated industries in a highly paternalistic manner. . . .

"Public regulation of wages on any considerable scale seems to have been attempted only in the colonial period and in times of special stress. . . .

"The town regulation of produce markets and bakeries was much more generally customary. . . .

"In the latter part of the ante-bellum period, the most striking items in the line of public regulation of industry were the efforts by state enactment or city ordinance to diminish the opportunity of negro artisans, whether slave or free, for the benefit of their white competitors in the trades. . . ."

1914

"A Jamaica slave plantation." *American Historical Review*, 19:543-558. April, 1914.

"Rose Price, Esquire, was the manager of Worthy Park plantation and its outlying properties in St. John's parish, Jamaica, belonging to 'Robert Price of Penzance in the Kingdom of Great Britain Esquire'; and Rose Price had an eye to the edification of posterity. Seeing that 'the Books of Estates are the only Records by which future Generations can inform themselves of the management of Plantations', he set down directions in detail for the making and preservation of elaborate accounts of current operations. The special books for the sugar mill, the rum distillery, the commissary, and the field-labor routine, which he ordered kept, have apparently been lost; but the 'great plantation book' for the years from 1792 to 1796 inclusive has survived and come to my hands. This comprises yearly inventories, records of the increase and decrease of slaves and draught animals, vestry returns, salary lists, vouchers, crop summaries, and accounts of the receipt and distribution of implements, clothing, food-stuffs, and other supplies."—p. 543-544.

"The literary movement for secession." *Studies in Southern History and Politics inscribed to William Archibald Dunning . . . by his former pupils . . .*, 33-60. New York, Columbia University Press. 1914.

"On the whole, so far as the pamphlet literature tells the tale, it is clear that state rights, while often harped upon, were in the main not an object of devotion for their own sake, but as a means of securing Southern rights. State sovereignty was used to give the insignia of legality to a stroke for national independence."—p. 59.

"On the economics of slavery, 1815-1860." American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1912:150-151. Washington. 1914.

Remarks before the conference on American History at the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Boston, December 30, 1912.

"In Prof. [W. E.] Dodd's paper [printed under the title, "Profitable Fields of Investigation in American History, 1815-1860," in the *American Historical Review*, 18:522-536 (April, 1913)], which all must agree is highly suggestive and admirable, I must, however, take issue with the assertion that slaves offered the most profitable investment for capital in the ante bellum South. If the statement were applied only to the periods when slave prices were very low, it might be unexceptionable; but when made sweepingly it may easily be refuted."—p. 150.

1915

"The American Historical Association." *Nation*, 101:355-356, 495. Sept. 16, Oct. 21, 1915.

Two letters incident to proposals of Frederic Bancroft, John H. Latané, and Dunbar Rowland for the reorganization of the association.

Letters in comment by Frederic Bancroft, John H. Latané, Edward P. Cheney, A. B. Hart, and Frederic L. Paxson are given on p. 356-357, 411-413, 495.

"Black-belt labor, slave and free." *Lectures and Addresses on the Negro in the South*, 29-36. (Publications of the University of Virginia. Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers.) [Charlottesville, Va., Michie Co. 1915].

"Slave crime in Virginia." *American Historical Review*, 20:336-340. January, 1915.

"To promote the suppression of crime, various colonies and states provided by law that the owners of slaves capitally sentenced should be compensated by the public at appraised valuations. This brought it about that, although slaves were generally tried by courts not of record, in many cases documents reciting the convictions were officially filed. In Virginia the reimbursement was made through the state treasury. Accordingly it happens that in the great mass of archives recently made accessible in the Virginia State Library sundry packages contain some thirteen hundred vouchers, each recording the conviction of one or more slaves for a capital crime. So far as my knowledge goes, no comparable record has come to light in another commonwealth."—p. 336.

1922

"New light upon the founding of Georgia." *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 6:277-284. December, 1922.

"It has long been known that the first Earl of Egmont was a leader in promoting the colonization of Georgia, and that he wrote a journal of the trustees' meetings which is much more detailed than the official record. In addition, a voluminous private diary of his is now being printed as a public document of the British government. The first volume of this, which has now appeared, containing about one-third of the manuscript and covering the years from 1730 to 1733, supplements greatly the knowledge previously available upon a wide variety of English affairs in the period. . . . More to the present purpose, the book adds materially to the previously existing knowledge of the inception of the Georgia project and the launching of the colony."—p. 277-278.

1925

"Plantations with slave labor and free." *American Historical Review*, 30:738-753. July, 1925.

An address before the Agricultural History Society on the occasion of the concurrent meeting of the various historical societies at Richmond, Virginia, December 27, 1924.

The following topics are considered: large Western sugar-beet ranches today; origins of the slave-plantation system; conditions under the system; the planters; effect of the system on soil; tenure after the Civil War; Southern plantations today.

1926

"An Antigua plantation, 1769-1818." *North Carolina Historical Review*, 3:439-445. July, 1926.

"Detailed records of West India sugar plantations are so rare and significant that a newly available one invites prompt analysis. The present study is



a digest of thirty thin manuscript account books bequeathed to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1924 by David S. Greenough."—p. 439.

"The present paper is in a sense complementary to 'A Jamaica Slave Plantation,' printed in the *American Historical Review*, XIX, 543-558, in which I digested the record of the Worthy Park plantation for the years 1792-1796."—Footnote 1, p. 439.

## 1928

"The central theme of southern history." *American Historical Review*, 34:30-43. October, 1928.

A consideration of the South as "a land with a unity despite its diversity, with a people having common joys and common sorrows, and, above all, as to the white folk a people with a common resolve indomitably maintained—that it shall be and remain a white man's country. The consciousness of a function in these premises, whether expressed with the frenzy of a demagogue or maintained with a patrician's quietude, is the cardinal test of a Southerner and the central theme of Southern history."—p. 31.

## 1929

"Calhoun, John Caldwell (Mar. 18, 1782-Mar. 31, 1850). . . ." *Dictionary of American Biography*, 3:411-419. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1929.

## 1930

"Azandeland." *Yale Review* (n. s.), 20:293-313. December, 1930.

The author's observations of primitive life and Negro traits in Azandeland while on a year's journey around the world during 1929-30 as Albert Kahn fellow.

"Crawford, William Harris (Feb. 24, 1772-Sept. 15, 1834). . . ." *Dictionary of American Biography*, 4:527-530. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930.

"Nilotics and Azande." Albert Kahn Foundation for the Foreign Travel of American Teachers, *Reports*, 9: 11-47. New York, The Trustees. 1930.

An informal report of observations in the lands of the Nilotics and Azande during 1929-30.

## 1931

"Davis, Jefferson (1808-89), American statesman." *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 5:11-12. New York, Macmillan Co. 1931.

"Douglas, Stephen Arnold (1813-61), American statesman." *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 5:227-228. New York, Macmillan Co. 1931.

"The master touch is urged on youth." *New York Times*, Mar. 29, 1931, sect. 3, p. 7, c. 6.

The article is part of a Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale University. Ease of accomplishment as the prize which education offers is the central theme.

"Memorial Day address delivered in Battell Chapel at annual service." *Yale Alumni Weekly*, 40:968. June 5, 1931.

"With every passing year of thoughtful research a belief grows wider and stronger that the war of the 'sixties was not an irrepressible conflict but a

calamity of misguided zeal and blundering . . . it came through default of statecraft, it imperilled the nation on doubtful occasion, and, to the general detriment, it diverted public notice then and for years afterward from genuine to false issues."

"Plantations east and south of Suez." *Agricultural History*, 5:93-109. July, 1931.

The author's observations on the Hantane tea plantation and the Hangwella rubber plantations in Ceylon; the Gafadoun Ezbeh cotton plantation of Ragheb Hanna Bey at Fashn, Egypt, on the edge of the Sahara; the Kom Ombo Land Company irrigation project at Kom Ombo near Assouan which raises sugar cane; and the Sudan Plantations Syndicate with headquarters at Barakat, a hundred or more miles above Khartoum, which raises cotton, food, and forage.

The paper was read as the address at the dinner of the Agricultural History Society with the American Historical Association at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 29, 1930.

## 1932

"Hayne, Robert Young (Nov. 10, 1791-Sept. 24, 1839). . . ." *Dictionary of American Biography*, 8:456-459. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932.

## 1934

"Popular sovereignty." *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 12:239-240. New York, Macmillan Co. 1934.

"Slavery, modern, United States." *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 14:84-90. New York, Macmillan Co. 1934.

"Toombs, Robert (1810-85), American statesman." *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 14:651. New York, Macmillan Co. 1934.

*To Be Published*

"Stephens, Alexander Hamilton (Feb. 11, 1812-Mar. 4, 1883). . . ." *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

"Toombs, Robert (July 2, 1810-Dec. 15, 1885). . . ." *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons.

## BOOKS

## 1902

"Georgia and state rights. A study of the political history of Georgia from the Revolution to the Civil War, with particular regard to federal relations." American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1901) 2:3-224, 12 maps. Washington, Government Printing Office. 1902.

The Justin Winsor Prize of the American Historical Association was awarded to the author for this monograph.

"As a result of listening to a very suggestive lecture by Dr. F. J. Turner upon American sectionalism, I set to work some years ago to study the effect of nullification upon Georgia politics. . . . My effort has been to seek out the causes of things, and to follow developments to their conclusion. The work

has expanded, almost of itself, until it has reached the present compass of a complete survey of the antebellum period of the State's history. . . .

"The work is intended to be a thorough scientific treatment of its subject. No pains have been spared in obtaining exhaustive and accurate information. I have made research in person in every important library in America, and in several of those abroad, and have made use of a large amount of material which is in the possession of private individuals. . . .

"The two chapters dealing with the local parties in Georgia were submitted as a master's thesis at the University of Georgia in 1899. The monograph, as a whole, is my doctor's dissertation at Columbia University in 1902. . . ."

—*Preface.*

The following are the chapter titles: The adoption of the Federal Constitution; The acquisition of the Creek lands; The expulsion of the Cherokees; The Troup and Clarke parties; The state rights and union parties; The Whigs and the Democrats, slavery; The Kansas-Nebraska struggle and its results; The secession of the State of Georgia; Bibliography; Index.

Appraisals of this work are given by I. J. Cox in the *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals*, 21:470-471 (May, 1903); and in an unsigned review in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 2:195-196 (April, 1903).

#### 1908

*A history of transportation in the eastern cotton belt to 1860.* 405 p., illus., maps. New York, Columbia University Press. 1908.

"I seek to understand the history of the South, and hope to explain it. The economic and social aspects seem to offer the best line of approach to the general problem, and hence my attention to the present subject along with others parallel, such as the plantation system. Migration, industry, commerce, politics, society, and even race relations are all inter-related with the transportation development. My attempt has been to keep this constantly in mind and to indicate its bearings at the salient points where such generalizations would be in place.

"The present book is a treatment of a part of a field, of which the whole is sketched in broad strokes in the Introduction."—*Preface.*

The following are the chapter titles: Transportation in the ante-bellum South, an economic analysis; The South Carolina-Georgia lowlands to the end of the eighteenth century; The uplands prior to the railroad era; The building of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad; The Charleston and Cincinnati project, and the reorganized South Carolina Railroad Company; The Georgia Railroad and Banking Company; The Central of Georgia railroad system; The Western and Atlantic, a state-owned railroad; Minor roads and later projects; Conclusion. Bibliographical note and Index.

Appraisals of this book are given [by William E. Dodd] in the *American Historical Review*, 14:371-372 (January, 1909); and by Emory R. Johnson in the *Journal of Political Economy*, 16:539-540 (October, 1908).

#### 1913

*The life of Robert Toombs.* 281 p., illus. New York, Macmillan Co. 1913.

"At the inception of this work it was intended to be a joint product by the

late Colonel John C. Reed, of Atlanta, and myself. . . . He had assembled a mass of his hero's correspondence, had collected a quantity of the humorous and epigrammatic sayings in which Toombs was remarkably prolific . . . had made Toombs the leading figure in his excellent book, *The Brothers' War*, and had looked forward to writing his full biography. He at first cordially accepted my overtures for a joint biography; but soon afterward bethought him that the labor would be too great for his declining strength, and determined to confine himself to the preparation of a slender independent work on Toombs's 'winged words.' He thereupon most generously handed over to me his treasured Toombs letters . . . Colonel Reed . . . died . . . before he had made any progress with his task. . . . Toombs is as interesting to me as a type and product as he was to Colonel Reed as an individual. . . . I have been chiefly concerned with his incisive criticism of public issues and his now moderate, now headlong championship of public programmes. . . . I have endeavored to use his career as a central theme in describing the successive problems which the people of Georgia and the South confronted and the policies which they followed in their efforts at solving them. In regard to the personal career of Toombs, my narrative probably demonstrates, what my studies have made plain to me, that Toombs was primarily an American statesman with nation-wide interests and a remarkable talent for public finance, but the stress of the sectional quarrel drove him, as it had driven Calhoun before him, into a distinctly *Southern* partisanship at the sacrifice of his *American* opportunity."—*Preface*.

The following are the chapter titles: The country, the people, and the politics of Middle Georgia; Toombs's early career; A Southern Whig in Congress; The Proviso crisis and the Compromise of 1850; The Georgia platform; A Senator in the fifties; Toombs on the slaveholding régime; The election of 1860; The stroke for Southern independence; The stress of war; An unreconstructed Georgian; Index.

This biography is reviewed by Benjamin B. Kendrick under the title "Toombs and Stevens" in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 29:491-499 (September, 1914); and by N. W. Stephenson in the *American Historical Review*, 19:663-665 (April, 1914). Unsigned reviews appear in the *Boston Transcript*, Nov. 19, 1913, p. 24; the *Independent*, 78:291 (May 18, 1914); the *Literary Digest*, 48:270 (Feb. 7, 1914); the *Nation*, 97:415 (Oct. 30, 1913); the *New York Sun*, Sept. 27, 1913, p. 8; the *Outlook*, 106:97 (Jan. 10, 1914); and the *Spectator*, 112:164 (Jan. 31, 1914).

#### 1918

*American negro slavery; a survey of the supply, employment and control of negro labor as determined by the plantation régime.* 529 p. New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1918.

"For twenty years I have panned the sands of the stream of Southern life and garnered their golden treasure. Many of the nuggets rewarding the search have already been displayed in their natural form [i.e., *Plantation and Frontier Documents*]; and this now is a coinage of the grains great and small. . . .

"The wide ramifications of negro slavery are sketched in these pages, but

the central concern is with its rise, nature and influence in the regions of its concentration. In these the plantation régime prevailed. The characteristic American slave, indeed, was not only a negro, but a plantation workman; and for the present purpose a knowledge of the plans and requirements of plantation industry is no less vital than an understanding of human nature. While the latter is of course taken for granted, the former has been elaborated as a principal theme. Slaves were both persons and property, and as chattels they were investments. This phase has invited analysis at some length in the two chapters following those on the plantation régime.

"Ante-bellum conditions were sharply different in some respects from those of colonial times, largely because of legislation enacted in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. For this reason the politics of that period of sharp transition are given attention herein. Otherwise the words and deeds of public men have been mostly left aside. Polemic writings also have been little used, for their fuel went so much to heat that their light upon the living conditions is faint. Reminiscences are likewise disregarded, for the reason that the lapse of decades has impaired inevitably the memories of men. The contemporary records of slaves, masters and witnesses may leave gaps and have their shortcomings, but the asseverations of politicians, pamphleteers, and aged survivors are generally unsafe even in supplement.

"On the other hand, the tone of social elements in the Black Belt of the present is something of a gauge of the temper of generations past. My sojourn in a National Army Camp in the South while this book has been going through the press has reënforced my earlier conviction that Southern racial asperities are mainly superficial, and that the two great elements are fundamentally in accord. . . ."—*Preface*.

The chapter titles are as follows: The early exploitation of Guinea; The maritime slave trade; The sugar islands; The tobacco colonies; The rice coast; The northern colonies; Revolution and reaction; The closing of the African slave trade; The introduction of cotton and sugar; The westward movement; The domestic slave trade; The cotton régime; Types of large plantations; Plantation management; Plantation labor; Plantation life; Plantation tendencies; Economic views of slavery, a survey of the literature; Business aspects of slavery; Town slaves; Free Negroes; Slave crime; The force of the law. Index and bibliographical footnotes.

Appraisals of this study are given in the following reviews: W. E. Burghardt Du Bois in the *American Political Science Review*, 12:722-726 (November, 1918); Theodore D. Jervy in the *American Historical Review*, 25:117-118 (October, 1919); Mariano Joaquin Lorente in the *Public*, 22:138-139 (Feb. 8, 1919); Mary White Ovington in the *Survey*, 40:718 (Sept. 28, 1918); C. P. Patterson in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 33:454-456 (September, 1918); Tipton R. Snively in the *American Economic Review*, 10:336-338 (June, 1920); E. J. C. in the *Boston Transcript*, June 22, 1918; the *Literary Digest*, 58(8):34 (Aug. 24, 1918); the *Springfield Republican*, Aug. 15, 1918, p. 6.

1929

*Life and labor in the Old South.* 375 p., illus., maps. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. 1929.



Awarded the prize of \$2,500 offered in 1928 by Little, Brown & Co. for the best unpublished work on American history.

"If intelligence is to be gauged in political programmes, the conditions of life which gave them origin must first be known. Hence the priority of the present volume in a group which is planned as a history of the South. The second will trace the course of public policy to 1861, and a third may bring the consolidated social and political themes onward from that epochal year.

"Some of the chapters here printed run parallel to those in my 'American Negro Slavery.' The decade since that publication has not only brought much material to light but has wrought sundry changes of emphasis and revisions of judgment. . . ."—*Preface*.

The chapter titles are as follows: The land of Dixie; The Old Dominion; The younger colonies; Redskins and Latins; From the backwoods to the Bluegrass; The cotton belt; Staple economy; Traffic; The peculiar institution; The costs of labor; Life in thralldom; Some Virginia masters; Southeastern plantations; Planters of the Southwest; Overseers; Homesteads; The plain people; The gentry. Index and bibliographical footnotes.

Appraisals of this work are given in the following reviews: James Truslow Adams in the *New York Sun*, Nov. 30, 1929, p. 23; Irving Astrachan in the *Bookman*, 69:669 (August, 1929); William K. Boyd in the *American Historical Review*, 35:133-135 (October, 1929); William M. Brewer in the *Journal of Negro History*, 14:534-536 (October, 1929); H. I. Brock in the *New York Times Book Review*, May 26, 1929, p. 6; M. E. C. in the *Springfield Republican*, June 2, 1929, p. 5e; Henry Steele Commager in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, May 19, 1929, p. 4; Sherwin Lawrence Cook in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 11, 1929, p. 4w; E. M. Coulter in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 14:175-176 (June, 1930); Avery O. Craven in the *Political Science Quarterly*, 45:135-137 (March, 1930); J. H. Easterby in the *Yale Review*, 19:176-178 (Autumn, 1929); Worthington C. Ford in the *Boston Herald*, May 11, 1929, p. 17; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton in the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 5:629-631 (October, 1929); Max Lerner in the *New York Evening Post*, June 1, 1929, p. 9m; William O. Lynch in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, 25:326-328 (December, 1929); Broadus Mitchell in the *American Economic Review*, 19:655-657 (December, 1929); Allan Nevins in the *New York World*, May 19, 1929, p. 10m; Charles W. Ramsdell in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 17:160-163 (June, 1930); Richard H. Shryock in the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 29:95-97 (January, 1930); Allen Tate in the *New Republic*, 59:211-212 (July 10, 1929); R. H. Taylor in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, 7:158-162 (January, 1930); *American Literature*, 1:464-465 (January, 1930); *American Review of Reviews*, 80(1):16, 18 (July, 1929); *Michigan History Magazine*, 25:158-160 (Winter, 1931); *Sewanee Review*, 38:124-125 (January-March, 1930).

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- Cooley, R. B., *School acres, an adventure in rural education* (New Haven, 1930), under the title "The Perennial Negro" in the *Yale Review* (n.s.), 21:202-204 (Autumn, 1931).
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- Kelsey, C., *The negro farmer* (Chicago, 1903), under the title "The Black Belt" in the *Sewanee Review*, 12:73-77 (January, 1904).
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## EDITED WORKS

1903

"Documents." *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, 2:58-60. July, 1903.

Three papers from the Draper MSS. Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to "illustrate various phases of life one hundred years ago."

1909

"South Carolina Federalist correspondence, 1789-1797." *American Historical Review*, 14:776-790. July, 1909.

"The following letters, mainly written by William Smith to Gabriel Manigault and Ralph Izard, are printed from the manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Wantoot Plantation (Pinopolis), St. John's, Berkeley, South Carolina."—p. 776.

1910

*A documentary history of American industrial society: plantation and frontier [1649-1863].* (A *documentary history of American industrial society*, edited by John R. Commons, Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore, Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews, v. 1-2). 2 v. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark Co. 1910.

Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the cooperation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Introduction to volumes 1 and 2 by Ulrich B. Phillips, 1:69-104. Pages 70-74, 83-94 of this Introduction are reprinted in L. B. Schmidt and E. D. Ross, editors, *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, 131-137, 271-274 (New York, Macmillan Co., 1925). Bibliography (for volumes 1 and 2), 1:105-107.

"In preparing this collection of documents the policy has been as far as possible to use material combining three qualities in each instance, rareness, unconsciousness, and faithful illustration. The purpose is to show the most saliently characteristic features of southern industrial society, through the writings not only of contemporaries, but preferably of actual participants who wrote with no expectation that what they wrote would be published."—p. 94-95.

An appraisal of this work is given by Alfred Holt Stone in the *American Historical Review*, 16:137-139 (October, 1910).

1913

"The correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb [1844-1882]." American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1911) 2:1-759. Washington. 1913.

Ninth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

"In the period of agitation over Southern grievances, South Carolina was the convinced and headlong member of the group of Southern States while Georgia maintained a distinctly deliberative attitude. . . . The dearth of contemporary documents exhibiting the problems, views, and purposes of the leaders of southern public opinion in the time of the secession movement has long been regretted by students. The publication by the American Historical Association of Dr. J. F. Jameson's Calhoun correspondence . . . illuminated southern politics, particularly in South Carolina. The present volume, while chiefly relating to Georgia, supplements and continues the general theme of the Calhoun papers.

"The collection now printed embraces the correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb, partly because they were the most prominent public men of Georgia in the fifties, and partly because their correspondence has reached the editor's hands more abundantly than that of any of their contemporaries. The careers of Toombs and Stephens were so intertwined that they are inseparable by the historian. . . . Howell Cobb was usually not an intimate colleague of these two. He entered public life as a Democrat while Toombs and Stephens were Whigs. The three joined forces to procure the enactment and popular endorsement of the Compromise of 1850; . . . But whether in mutual accord or opposition, the letters of the three men and their respective friends combine to give a rounded view of each successive problem which confronted them. A principal purpose of the editor has been to enable the student to put himself in the places of these men and see current affairs of their time through their eyes. To this end a large number of letters written by other contemporaries to one or another of the trio has been included in this volume."—*Preface*.

Chronology of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb, p. 13-16. Calendar of the letters of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb heretofore printed, p. 17-30. Calendar of the letters of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb here printed, p. 31-51. Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb, p. 53-743. Index, p. 745-759.

An appraisal of this work is given by N. W. Stephenson in the *American Historical Review*, 19:915-917 (July, 1914).

1926

"Some letters of Joseph Habersham [1775-1790]." *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 10:144-163. June, 1926.

"The manuscripts from which the following letters are printed were given in 1925 by Mr. George Noble Jones, a great-grandson of the writer of them, to the Georgia Historical Society. A few omissions have been made, either because a manuscript was too fragmentary to be intelligible or because the substance lacked historical interest. Though these papers tell not much of



Habersham's own distinguished career, they give illumination to the times in which he lived and to his personal interests and attitudes as a soldier, a legislator, a rice planter, and a husband and father."—p. 144.

1927

(With James David Glunt). *Florida plantation records from the papers of George Noble Jones*. (Missouri historical society publications). 596 p., illus., map. St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society. 1927.

Introduction (Plantation records in general; The George Noble Jones papers in particular; The plantation realm, and the province of Middle Florida; The owners of El Destino and Chemonie; The overseers; The slaves; Freedmen; Upkeep and output), by Ulrich B. Phillips, p. 1-42. A visit to El Destino and Chemonie in August, 1925, by James D. Glunt, p. 43-55.

Overseers' reports and other correspondence, p. 57-207. El Destino plantation journal, 1847, p. 209-328. El Destino tabulations, 1847, p. 329-338. Chemonie journal, 1851, p. 339-428. Chemonie tabulations for 1851, p. 429-442. Chemonie journal, January 1-August 13, 1856, p. 443-509. Chemonie tabulations, 1855-1856, p. 511-528. Sundry lists of slaves and other property, p. 529-571. Miscellaneous documents, p. 573-584. Glossary, p. 585-590. Index, p. 591-596.

This work is reviewed by Avery O. Craven in the *American Historical Review*, 33:203 (October, 1927); and in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 14:416-418 (December, 1926).

EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

*U. S. Department of Agriculture.*

## DOCUMENTS

### JOHN PITKIN NORTON'S VISIT TO ENGLAND, 1844

Ninety years ago Theodore Dwight, Jr., received the following letter now among the *Dwight Papers* in the New York Public Library. It was one of the first written from England by a youthful friend, John Pitkin Norton, whose death at the age of thirty cut short a career rich in promise to American scholarship.<sup>1</sup> In his brief span of life he had come to be regarded as "the most practical agricultural writer and thinker of the . . . time"<sup>2</sup> and had established a place for himself among the distinguished men of the age. The influence of Norton's eight years of professional life did not cease with his passing. Believing agriculture to be of primary importance to man, he labored incessantly to make chemistry an aid toward skilful farming. His first significant work, "On the Analysis of the Oat,"<sup>3</sup> brought him a prize of fifty sovereigns in gold from the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland in 1846. Three years later, his ability to express principles in simple non-technical style was recognized when he was awarded one hundred dollars by the New York State Agricultural Society for his essay on the "Elements of Scientific Agriculture."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Pitkin Norton was born in Albany, New York, July 19, 1822. In 1847 he married Elizabeth Pepoon Marvin of that city; his efforts towards a university there were believed contributory to his death. He died on September 5, 1852 at Farmington, Connecticut, a State to which he was bound closely by ancestry. See *Memorials of John Pitkin Norton* (Albany, 1853), especially the biographical sketch by William A. Larned, p. 31-65, reprinted from the *New Englander*, 10:613-631 (November, 1852). See also the article by Edward M. Bailey in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 13:575 (New York, 1934); and the article by W. H. Brewer in the *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 4:600 (New York, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> Luther Tucker's *Albany Cultivator* (n.s.), 9:329 (October, 1852). This "Obituary of Prof. Norton" is reprinted in *Memorials of John Pitkin Norton*, 73-81.

<sup>3</sup> The essay appears in the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, *Transactions* (ser. 3), 2:321-356 (July, 1846), and in Silliman's *American Journal of Science and Arts* (ser. 2), 3:222-236, 318-333 (May, 1847).

<sup>4</sup> *Elements of Scientific Agriculture, or the Connection between Science and the Art of Practical Farming* (Albany, Erastus H. Pease & Co., 1850).

Not only by the publication of his researches and correspondence in agricultural papers and by addressing fairs and rural meetings did Norton spread his ideas; he began training younger men to make a vocation of solving the problems which baffle the tiller of the soil. Norton and Benjamin Silliman, Jr., were the faculty of the "School of Applied Chemistry" established at Yale in 1847. Soon Silliman was called away to another position and the burden of achieving permanence for the new department fell to Norton who lived only long enough to examine its first class of graduates. His success in this responsibility, however, made possible the Sheffield Scientific School which honors him as its "architect and master builder."<sup>5</sup> Probably nothing would have brought greater satisfaction to him than the knowledge that through one of his students, Samuel W. Johnson, there would arise a great system of agricultural experiment stations in America, dedicated to the purposes for which he poured out his vitality so unselfishly.<sup>6</sup>

ROBERT W. HILL.

*New York Public Library*

[JOHN PITKIN NORTON TO THEODORE DWIGHT, JR.]

City of Durham. June 12, 1844.

Dear Sir,

I have now the pleasure of sitting down to write you from Old England, the land of our fathers. I had expected to address you from Edinburgh; but on landing at Liverpool found a letter from Prof. Johnston, saying that his course of Lectures in the University here was not finished & wishing me to come here first.<sup>7</sup> I go to Edinburgh next week & take my place in the Laboratory there. My passage was one of twenty-five days. We were much troubled by Easterly winds & calms. For the first forty eight hours my faculties were absorbed in the contemplation & explication of a disease called sea sickness. The third

<sup>5</sup> Russell H. Chittenden, *History of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University, 1846-1922*, 1:37-54 (New Haven, 1928); Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925*, 63-65, 257 (Washington, 1929).

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth A. Osborne, editor, *From the Letter-Files of S. W. Johnson*, 203 (New Haven, 1913).

<sup>7</sup> James F. W. Johnston, author of many scientific papers, teacher of chemistry and mineralogy at Durham University from 1833 till his death in 1855, maintained a home and laboratory in Edinburgh.

morning I crawled upon deck in a state of semi-animation; before long a heavy shower came sweeping over the water & I recklessly determined to brave it rather than go to my hated berth again. The mate lent me his oilskin coat & I curled down in a corner & soon became most satisfactorily wet. Strange to say this shower cured me; while it was raining so hard & the water trickling down my back & gradually penetrating to every part, I forgot sea sickness, the motion of the ship & all troubles & went back to old *fishing* scenes on Southwick Ponds, or the mill dam at home. The sun soon shone out & dried me & from that time the voyage was pleasant. Our ship was a most noble one, said to be perhaps the strongest out of New York & the most heavily sparred. Her mainmast is two inches more in diameter than that of the Queen of The West, a ship 350 tons larger. This peculiarity renders her particularly great in heavy weather. We had our three royal yards across during the whole voyage with the exception of one night when they were sent down from the fore and mizen masts. In two instances we ran  $11\frac{1}{2}$  knots by the log & beat every vessel that we saw. One night we came across a British brig when the wind was fair for us both. She was under close reefed topsails & jib while we had our courses topsails & fore & main top gallant sails & as we shot by her as if she was at anchor we shook the last reef out of the mizen topsail & set the top gallant sail. When we got into the channel the wind was ahead & our superiority both in sailing & in generalship was manifest as we both beat & out-maneuvred them. The first land we made was St. Davids Head on the Welch coast & you may be sure that our eyes often wandered that way. We were in company with a number of vessels all in the unfortunate predicament with ourselves. We made out to cross the bay before night & just at dusk were off Beardsleys Island with all of our competitors far astern excepting an immense Englishman who was eight or ten miles ahead in the morning & was now four or five miles on our starboard quarter having blundered into Cardigan Bay & got becalmed under the land. The next morning we were off Holyhead with the wind stronger & more favorable. During the night we had come up with another fleet of vessels. By standing on in one tack about half an hour after the rest of them went we caught the tide just as it turned & got in close to the rock where it ran the swiftest. In two tacks very short ones to keep in the current, we improved our advantage & at night were off the Skerries, while every one of the other vessels remained below Holyhead where they were in the morning. At 11 o'clock that night a steamboat from Liverpool came alongside & took us in tow. We dropped anchor opposite Waterloo Dock soon after noon & in a few moments found ourselves on terra firma. It was on Sunday that we landed in Liverpool & I remained there until Monday evening when I left by railway for Lancaster. The next day I came across the country by coach to this place. I find Prof. Johnston very pleasant indeed & just the man for a good instructor. He has kept me here these three weeks to show me a little of the country before I settle down to study in earnest at Edinburgh. We have made a number of excursions in different directions. One of the most

interesting was up the valley of the Tyne or Tynedale the scene of so many fierce border conflicts & where the old towns & castles yet remain though they have not to frown defiance upon the sturdy moss trooping Scot. This place, Durham, is full of interest. Its magnificent cathedral meets the eye in whichever direction you approach & familiarity with its majestic outline only deepens my impression of its beauty. The old castle, now the University, has been in former times, the scene of numberless stirring events & the shelter of many a mighty noble & king; just out of the city was fought the famous battle of Neville's Cross when David Bruce was taken prisoner. Everything speaks of the past & the whole place retains its antique appearance; the narrow streets are unaltered & the houses look as if they would frown down any attempt at modernization. We went last week to Hartlepool & Stockton & a few days before to [New]castle.<sup>8</sup> As the colliers are on strike these great coal ports are comparatively quiet. Tomorrow I expect to go with a large party to Castle Eden, a beautiful dell stretching down to the German Ocean. On Monday there is to be a famous Regatta on the Wear & by the last of the week I expect to be through with my pleasure trips & be off for Edinburgh.

My first undertaking will be a serious one but very interesting. It is a complete analysis of Oats not only of the grain but also of the husk, the chaff & the straw of different varieties from different soils & in many ways. This as you may conceive will be a long job. I expect it to last about four months.<sup>9</sup> The Highland Society has offered a premium of fifty pounds for such an investigation & Prof. Johnston thinks I may get it. Besides that the result will be very creditable & will bring me into notice—if I succeed.

It is time for the mail & I must close with much unsaid. Remember me to Mrs. Dwight & all the younger branches of the family. Direct to me at No. 8 Bank St. Edinburgh that being Prof. Johnston's Laboratory. Home looks far pleasanter than ever before but I dare not think of it much, forward is the only direction for me now. Yours sincerely

JOHN P. NORTON.

<sup>8</sup> The brackets indicate a hole in the manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> At the time of its publication Norton stated that it had taken eighteen months.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*Zenon Papyri; Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt.* Edited with introductions and notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and ELIZABETH SAYRE HASENOEHRL. [Columbia Papyri: Greek Series, no. 3.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. 177 p., facsimis. \$6.00.)

Since 1890 a large number of ancient documents have been unearthed in Egypt. These include private letters, decrees of the kings and Roman emperors who ruled Egypt, accounts both private and governmental, bank records, and pages from literary works of Greek and Latin writers. All are written on papyrus with lampblack ink.

Among the fifty to seventy-five thousand documents already published or in the process of publication, the most famous group is that called the Zenon Papyri, consisting of about fifteen hundred documents. The group constitutes the files of a business man, Zenon, who operated an extensive plantation of about seven thousand acres in the Fayum oasis, west of the Nile River, during 267-246 B.C. The documents include letters of recommendation, complaints, accounts, and enumerations of Zenon's daily tasks, as well as material relating to his private business affairs from 246 to 239 B.C.

The Columbia University Library has one hundred and twenty documents from Zenon's records, fifty-nine of which are here printed in the Greek. Explanations and accurate translations are provided in order that the material may be available to scholars interested in the daily social and economic life of antiquity. The papyri are replete with interesting facts.—EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

*Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England, and other Papers, 1748-1762,* by JARED ELIOT. Edited by HARRY J. CARMAN and REXFORD G. TUGWELL, with a biographical sketch by RODNEY H. TRUE. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, 1.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. 261 p., illus. \$3.50.)

None will gainsay the fact that Jared Eliot was one of the outstanding personages of eighteenth century New England. He was "the kind of man, found rather often in earlier generations, who stood to a whole countryside as the representative there of learning." Collectively, his six essays on field husbandry constitute the first important American treatise on agriculture. They reveal an inquiring and scientific mind which even the casual modern will find stimulating as well as interesting. Since they, together with his essay on iron manufacture, are rare and difficult to obtain, their reprinting in this volume is an inestimable service to all who seek to understand the history of American agriculture. Professor Rodney H. True's notable account of "Jared Eliot, Minister, Physician, Farmer" which appeared in *Agricultural History*, 2:185-212 (October, 1928) is reprinted as the introduction to the *Essays*.

Following the *Essays*, the editors have included the letters on agriculture received by Jared Eliot from John Bartram, Nathan Bowen, Peter Collinson, Benjamin Franklin, William Logan, James Monk, Peter Oliver, and H. W. Robinson. These reveal the interests of the leaders who were seeking to improve American husbandry in the pre-Revolutionary years.

The bibliography lists Jared Eliot's publications and the sketches of his career. In addition to a portrait of Eliot, the illustrations include the title-page of the 1760 edition of the *Essays*, the drawing of a drill plough by Peter Oliver, Jr., the title and dedication pages of Eliot's essay on iron, and a fragment of a letter by John Bartram. In addition it may be noted that the volume is pleasing in format and binding.

The General Introduction to the series affords a succinct treatment of the significance and scope of the history of American agriculture, and also indicates the plans for future volumes. In addition to reprints of old works such as Eliot's *Essays upon Field Husbandry* (1760), the anonymous *American Husbandry* (1775), and John Spurrier's *The Practical Farmer* (1793), there are to be volumes of materials from such sources as accounts of foreigners who visited America, farm periodicals, transactions of agricultural societies, account books, local histories, tax lists, scrapbooks, market reports, memoirs, pamphlets, proceedings of state boards of agriculture, advertisements, and records of manufactures of farm machinery. Biographies of agricultural leaders, supplemented by reprints of their pertinent writings, are also projected. The editors hope that a history of American agriculture in which "the atmosphere and habits of mind which surrounded the crafts and arts of homestead, shop, stable, field, mill, and woods" are recaptured and in which "the stages of change from what it once was to what it has now become" are delineated will form "the coping stone of the series." Taking the first volume as a sample, the reviewer confidently asserts that all who are interested in the history of American agriculture will heartily welcome the forthcoming volumes of the series.—EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

*The Civilization of the Old Northwest: A Study of Political, Social, and Economic Development, 1788-1812.* By BEVERLEY W. BOND, Jr. (New York, Macmillan Co., 1934. 543 p. \$3.50.)

In this volume, Professor Bond presents "a composite view of the civilization that arose in the formative period of the Old Northwest, between the first settlement at Marietta in 1788 and the outbreak of the War of 1812." In this quarter of a century "an American colonial system was tested . . . , and so successfully was it adapted to practical needs that the precedents set up in the Old Northwest, along with the distinctive civilization which developed there, were later transplanted into the Trans-Mississippi country." The international complications in which the territory northwest of the Ohio River was a pawn are not included within the scope of the study.

The chapters on "The Lure of the Western Lands," "The Distribution of the Land," "Pioneer Agriculture," "Opening up Communication," and "The Rise of Trade and Industry" are of particular interest to students of agricultural history. They afford "the prosaic details of a civilization founded upon corn and wheat, upon pigs and cattle, and upon hard, unremitting labor. . . ." So also is the presentation of the germinal origins of the American colonial policy, for assuredly

the system by which a nation of farmers was able successfully to weld the vast area of the present continental United States into one empire is of vast significance. Chapters on social and governmental matters complete the analysis of the civilization of the Old Northwest.

The study is based on assiduous research in contemporary newspapers and manuscript collections.—EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

*A History of Ohio.* By EUGENE HOLLOWAY ROSEBOOM and FRANCIS PHELPS WEISENBURGER. [Prentice-Hall History Series, Carl Wittke, editor.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1934. 545 p., maps. \$5.00.)

Believing that "the history of a state whose population is approximately equivalent to that of Switzerland and Norway combined is in itself worthy of attention," two native sons have prepared this excellent work which supplies a long-felt need. In spite of the important rôle which the State has played in the development of the United States, we have lacked a "satisfactory volume or series of volumes which present in a critical way the story of Ohio."

Professors Roseboom and Weisenburger have essayed a well-proportioned, critical, and authentic account of the development of Ohio from the time of the aborigines to the present. In its preparation they have used unpublished sources as well as printed works. Carefully selected bibliographies are appended to each chapter.

The following are among the topics which are of particular interest to readers of *Agricultural History*: The physical basis; Land cessions and congressional ordinances; The struggle with the Bank of the United States; The movement for internal improvements; The tariff, nullification, and banking; The workaday world [agriculture about 1830]; Finance and politics, 1836-1840; Agriculture in transition [1850-1880]; and The greenback era, 1873-1879.—EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

*A History of West Virginia.* By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. [Prentice-Hall History Series, Carl Wittke, editor.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1933. 622 p., illus. \$4.00.)

"The publication, in the last generation, of scores of historical monographs and papers, together with numerous source materials, has made possible and desirable a new history of West Virginia." Professor Ambler, who has devoted many years to collecting materials, editing documents, and writing monographs relating, directly or indirectly, to West Virginia, was well qualified to undertake this task and he has been eminently successful.

West Virginia's history falls naturally into two parts, the dividing line being 1860. In the first half, Professor Ambler has included much material that may be considered regional rather than State history and that relates to the Old Dominion background. Most of the chapters pertain to periods of from one to two decades.

The volume is well illustrated, although it probably would have been better to devote the space of several of the scenic pictures to historical views and maps. A modern map of the State would have been helpful.

In addition to citations of general works in footnotes, Professor Ambler has included a valuable working bibliography of about eight hundred items "which is restricted almost entirely to West Virginia, Virginia, and Pennsylvania titles." Unfortunately, to use the author's own phrase, "only a limited and a somewhat

unconventional classification of titles was attempted." The headings for topics and types of material are arranged in a single alphabet. The lists of manuscript collections and newspaper files with indication of their location are especially valuable for research workers.

Professor Ambler's book sets a high standard for the series of which it is the initial volume to be issued. It is well proportioned, well organized, and readable. Best of all, it is modern in its approach and objective.—EVERETT E. EDWARDS.

*Decline and Recovery of Wheat Prices in the 'Nineties.* By HELEN C. FARNSWORTH. [Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute, Vol. 10, nos. 8 and 9.] (Stanford University, Calif., June and July, 1934. 289-352 p.)

The sharp decline in business activity and prices from 1929 to 1933 stimulated a great deal of interest in analogies of previous business depressions and price movements. The demand for long-time series of statistical data was markedly increased and, judging from requests sent to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, even high school students and local discussion clubs have become interested in price history. Sometimes this interest extends only to the ascertainment of the previous low point. Occasionally detailed analyses of historical price changes for a particular commodity are sought as a means to a better understanding of the present situation and as a possible means of forecasting the near future course of prices. This study of the decline and recovery of wheat prices in the nineties is an example of the latter type and is a thorough and commendable piece of work. The price situation in the nineties is of particular interest because of its similarity to that of the present.

The first fourteen pages are devoted to a discussion of "the downward trend of wheat prices, 1870-1900." The influence on wheat prices of both monetary and non-monetary factors, especially the latter, from 1870 to 1900 are discussed. British import prices and Chicago contract cash prices of wheat have been deflated by wholesale price indexes in the respective countries from 1870 to 1934. Part 3 treats of the recovery of wheat prices after 1895. Miss Farnsworth concludes that "Nature, which was primarily responsible for the emergence and growth of a world wheat surplus in 1891-95, together with 'normal' increase of world consumption, was primarily responsible for reduction and subsequent elimination of that surplus."

Part 4 deals with prospects of recovery from current low wheat prices. Miss Farnsworth here makes a noble attempt to define a "normal" level of wheat prices not in terms of so many cents a bushel but in terms of the ratio of wheat prices to the general level of wholesale prices. It is not considered probable that complete and substantial recovery of wheat prices is likely so long as world year-end stocks substantially exceed 700,000,000 bushels. It is stated further that "though conceivable, it now seems beyond the bounds of probability that the world wheat carryover will be reduced to 700 million bushels or less by August 1, 1935." The marked reduction in this year's world wheat crop amounting to about 279,000,000 bushels in the Northern Hemisphere, with indications that the world crop will be less than a year ago by nearly that much should bring world stocks well below 700,000,000 bushels by the end of the current marketing year. These data are not presented for the purpose of discrediting the author's analysis or predictions which were logical on the basis of the outlook at the time they were

made. The marked reduction in this year's world wheat crop which was not fully apparent until after this study was published and the resulting improvement in wheat prices merely goes to show the difficulty of making forecasts which may be upset by the capriciousness of nature.—DR. ARTHUR G. PETERSON, *U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics*.

*The Hard Winter Wheat Pools: An Experiment in Agricultural Marketing Integration.*

By JOSEPH G. KNAPP. (Chicago, Univ. Chicago Press, 1933. 180 p. \$1.50.)

Wheat pooling in the United States is entirely a postwar development, being first attempted in the Southwest in 1919. The author has sifted a mass of information, replete with the propaganda of opposing interests, and has presented a candid picture of the evolution of the hard winter wheat pools during their twelve years of existence. Students of agricultural history will find the chapters on "The Background" and "Growth and Struggle" of especial interest.

Chapter 4 considers the legal status of pools and presents the unusual situation wherein legislatures and courts were not slow to establish legal sanctions to facilitate a new and rapid development. According to the author, the pools have played a significant part in building up a group solidarity among wheat growers who are in general cursed with individualism. The proportion of wheat production in Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, and Nebraska handled by the pools has been relatively small; for the 1930 crop it amounted to 5.8 per cent, including optional pool wheat, a higher proportion than in any previous year. In so far as is possible from available information, Dr. Knapp has answered many questions concerning wheat pools, not by giving short and easy answers but by presenting the evidence and discussing the probabilities.—DR. A. G. PETERSON, *U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics*.



## NEWS NOTES AND COMMENTS

### DECEMBER MEETING OF AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Agricultural History Society will meet with the American Historical Association and other historical societies at Washington, D. C., on December 27-29, 1934. The session devoted to agricultural history will consist of a series of papers on land policies and agriculture. Dr. Henry Tatter of Oak Park, Illinois, will speak on state and federal land policies during the Confederation period; Dr. R. H. Allen of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, on the influence of the Spanish land-grant system on the agricultural development of California; and Dr. George S. Wehrwein of the University of Wisconsin, on the readjustment of taxation and local government following rehabilitation of marginal areas. The Honorable Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, will be the speaker at the Society's luncheon conference, his subject being "The Unbalance of Agriculture and Industry."

### HISTORICAL WORK UNDER THE NEW DEAL

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, in his article on "Some Aspects of Historical Work under the New Deal" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 21:195-206 (September, 1934), presents a survey emphasizing special activities and tendencies among the local and regional historical societies, and the extensive utilization of C. W. A. workers on historical projects.

### NORTH CAROLINA FARMERS STATE ALLIANCE

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently received about one thousand letters, fourteen record books, and ninety-three pamphlets of the North Carolina Farmers State Alliance covering the period 1888-1920.

"FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF FARM TOOLS"

The Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago has recently opened an exhibit entitled "Five Thousand Years of Farm Tools." It encompasses four fundamental operations for which farm tools have been developed: namely, plowing, seeding, reaping, and haymaking. In the section on plowing there are models of the Babylonian plow, the deer-antler digging-stick, the stick plow of Palestine, the moldboard invented by Thomas Jefferson, the gang plow and others. The seeding devices which man has developed over the centuries in his efforts to save back-breaking labor are shown from the Babylonian drill up to the modern precision seed-dropper. Several ingenious types of drills were developed just after the Middle Ages and these are shown in operable scale models. The reaping section includes models of inventions from the sickle to the modern binder. The haymaking tools include all of the important types of rakes used through the ages as well as the modern stacker.

"We have surmounted the exhibit with illustrations," says Director O. T. Kreusser, "that will show the visitor how each of the tools were used. By walking two hundred feet the visitor can see the epoch-making steps in Man's conquest of the soil. This type of presentation proved so successful in the Machine Art Exhibit that we have decided to continue it with other subjects and since the Museum has such a large collection of ancient and modern agricultural tools we expect this new exhibit to attract a large number of people since Chicago is the center of the agricultural market."

This exhibit will be open to the public free every day until December first, when it will be replaced by an exhibit relative to printing and graphic arts.

PERSONAL

Dr. O. E. Baker, Dr. A. G. Peterson, Mr. Lloyd V. Steere, Dr. O. C. Stine, Dr. H. C. Taylor, and Mr. D. L. Wickens, members of the Agricultural History Society, were among those who attended the Third International Conference of Agricultural Economists at Bad Eilsen, Germany, August 26-September 2.

The commencement address which Professor Avery O. Craven delivered before the senior class of Scripps College, Claremont, California, on June 15, 1934, is printed under the title "Social Intelligence" in the *Social Studies*, 25:295-298 (October, 1934).

Professor W. F. Dunaway of Pennsylvania State College has recently completed his "History of Pennsylvania" which is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1935. He has included two chapters on the history of agriculture in Pennsylvania.

Professor Earle D. Ross's interesting résumé of "The Agricultural Backgrounds and Attitudes of American Presidents," is printed in *Social Forces*, 13:37-43 (October, 1934).

Professor L. B. Schmidt's analysis of "Cooperative Individualism in Agriculture" appeared in the *Des Moines Register* for May 30, 1934.

Dr. O. C. Stine sailed for Europe on August 16 to make a study of bread-grain supplies and of agricultural conditions in general that may affect international relations with reference to the marketing of agricultural products in Russia, Turkey, Rumania, Bulgaria, France, Yugoslavia, and Hungary.

#### ARTICLES AND BOOKS ON AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

*Unclassified*: W. P. Duruz, "History of the Pear," *Rogue River Valley Pear-O-Scope*, 2 (3):1, 9-11 (June, 1934), and his "History of the Bartlett Pear," *ibid.*, 2 (4):1, 9-11 (July, 1934); A. T. Erwin, "History and Introduction of Leading Varieties of Sweet Corn," *Seed World*, Feb. 16, 1934, and reprinted as *Ia. Agr. Expt. Sta. Jour. Paper J. 147*, "A Rare Specimen of *Zea Mays* var. *saccharata*," *Science*, 79:589 (June 29, 1934), and his "Sweet Corn, Its Origin and Importance as an Indian Food Plant in the United States," *Ia. State Col. Jour. Sci.*, 8:385-389 (1934); J. E. Weaver and T. J. Fitzpatrick, "The Prairie," *Ecological Monographs*, 4:109-295 (April, 1934); "The Crop and Livestock Reporting Service of the United States," U. S. Dept. Agr. *Misc. Pub. 171*, 104 p. (1933).

*American Indians*: M. E. Bemis, "First Farmers of Arizona," *Calif. Cultivator*, 81:293 (June 9, 1934); Everett E. Edwards, "American Indian Contributions to Civilization," *Minn. Hist.*, 15:255-272 (September, 1934); Albert B. Reagan, "Some Ancient Indian Granaries," *Utah Acad. Sci., Arts and Letters, Proc.*, 11:39-41 (1934).

*Connecticut*: L. W. Labaree, *Milford, Connecticut: The Early Development of a Town as Shown in Its Land Records* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1933. 29 p., maps).

*Hawaii*: John Wesley Coulter, "Pineapple Industry in Hawaii," *Econ. Geogr.*, 10:288-296 (July, 1934).

*Illinois:* H. C. M. Case and K. H. Myers, "Types of Farming in Illinois: An Analysis of Differences by Areas," *Ill. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 403, 93-226 p. (1934).

*Indiana:* The following are among the articles included in the *Ind. Farmer's Guide*, 90 (18), 64 p. (Sept. 1, 1934): T. A. Coleman, "The Indiana State Fair"; B. W. Douglass, "Some Facts about Indiana Apples"; T. R. Johnston, "Purdue University Important Agency in Progress of Indiana"; H. F. Linde, "A Century of Plow Making"; M. C. Townsend, "Agriculture in Indiana"; "Farm Organization"; "The Indiana Farmers Guide."

*Iowa:* Clarence Poe, "Exploding Agricultural Myths: Comparing Farm Prosperity South and West," especially North Carolina and Iowa, *South Atlantic Quart.*, 33:113-127 (April, 1934); George T. Renner, "A Geographical Survey for Iowa," *Econ. Geogr.*, 10:297-301 (July, 1934).

*Missouri:* Earl J. Nelson, "Missouri Slavery, 1861-1865," *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, 28:260-274 (July, 1934).

*Montana:* Ralph H. Brown, "Irrigation in a Dry-Farming Region; The Greenfields Division of the Sun River Project, Montana," *Geogr. Rev.*, 24:596-604 (October, 1934); V. D. Gilman, "Types of Farming in Southeastern Montana," *Mont. Agr. Expt. Sta., Bul.* 287, 61 p. (Bozeman, 1934).

*New England:* Lewis Sherburne, "Portrait of a Yankee Farmer," *Forum*, 92: 108-113 (August, 1934); Harold F. Wilson, "Population Trends in Northwestern New England, 1790-1930," *New Eng. Quart.*, 7:276-306, maps (June, 1934).

*New York:* Leonard L. Allen, *History of New York State Grange* (Watertown, N. Y., Hungerford-Holbrook Co., 1934. 217 p.); E. Stuart Hubbard, "A Saga of American Fruitgrowing," *Rural New Yorker*, 93:574, 594, 596 (Sept. 15, 20, 1934), the story of Benjamin Hall Hart and his son, William Hall Hart, and their farm in Dutchess County, New York; Edna L. Jacobsen, "Franklin B. Hough, A Pioneer in Scientific Forestry in America," *N. Y. Hist.*, 15:311-325 (July, 1934); A. B. Lewis, "An Economic Study of Land Utilization in Tompkins County, New York," *Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 590, 58 p. (Ithaca, N. Y., 1934); W. G. Mather, Jr., T. H. Townsend, and Dwight Sanderson, "A Study of Rural Community Development in Waterville, New York," *Cornell Univ. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 608, 39 p. (Ithaca, N. Y., 1934).

*North Carolina:* C. Horace Hamilton, "Rural-urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920 to 1930," *N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 295, 85 p. (Raleigh, 1934); Charles E. Landon, "The Tobacco Growing Industry of North Carolina," *Econ. Geogr.*, 10:239-253 (July, 1934); A. R. Newsome, ed., "Simeon Colton's Railroad Report, 1840," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, 11:205-238 (July, 1934). See also under *Iowa* above.

*Ohio:* P. G. Beck, "Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio," *Ohio Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 533, 41 p. (Wooster, 1934).

*Pennsylvania:* Charles W. Brinkman, "Turnpikes and Conestoga Wagons a Century Ago," *Pa. Farmer*, 111:117 (Sept. 15, 1934); George F. Johnson, "Hay Through Two Centuries," *ibid.*, 110:337, 345-346 (June 23, 1934); Emil Rauchenstein and F. P. Weaver, "Types of Farming in Pennsylvania," *Pa. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 305, 63 p. (State College, April, 1934); George Wheeler, "Richard Penn's Manor of Andolhea," *Pa. Mag. Hist. and Biogr.*, July, 1934; E. A. Ziegler, "Idle Land Problems in Pennsylvania," *Jour. Forestry*, 32:475-478 (April, 1934).

*The South:* William Terry Couch, ed., *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, Univ. N. C. Press, 1934. 711 p.), includes the following chapters: The Profile of

Southern Culture, by Rupert B. Vance; Southern Agriculture, by A. E. Parkins; The Handicrafts, by Allen H. Eaton; The Farmer and His Future, by Clarence Poe; Appalachian America, by J. Wesley Hatcher; The Tradition of "Poor Whites," by A. N. J. Den Hollander; The Negro in the South, by W. T. Couch. Charles S. Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, Univ. Chicago Press, 1934. 215 p., illus.); Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy* (New York, Walter Neale, 1933. 324 p.), reviewed by Charles W. Ramsdell in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 39:753-754 (July, 1934), and by J. L. Sellers in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, 21:282-283 (September, 1934).

*South Carolina*: Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., Univ. N. C. Press, 1934. 259 p.), reviewed by C. C. Crittenden in *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, 11:242-244 (July, 1934), and by Alfred P. James in *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, 21:266 (September, 1934).

*South Dakota*: Harry A. Steele, "Farm Mortgage Foreclosures in South Dakota, 1921-1932," *S. Dak. Agr. Expt. Sta. Circ.* 17, 11 p. (Brookings, 1934).

*Texas*: William T. Chambers, "Pine Woods Region of Southeastern Texas," *Econ. Geogr.*, 10:302-318 (July, 1934); Edwin J. Foscue, "Agricultural History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley Region," *Agr. Hist.*, 8:124-137 (July, 1934); J. Evetts Haley, "The Grass Lease Fight and Attempted Impeachment of the First Panhandle Judge," *Southwest. Hist. Quart.*, 38:1-27 (July, 1934); William Curry Holden, *The Spur Ranch: A Study of the Inclosed Ranch Phase of the Cattle Industry of Texas* (Boston, Christopher Pub. House, 1934. 229 p.), reviewed by J. Evetts Haley in *Southwest. Hist. Quart.*, 38:72-73 (July, 1934).

*Utah*: Joseph A. Geddes, "Farm versus Village Living in Utah: Plain City—Type "A" Village," *Utah Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 249, 70 p. (Logan, 1934); Lowry Nelson, "Some Social and Economic Features of American Fork, Utah," *Brigham Young Univ. Studies*, No. 4, 73 p. (Provo, Utah, 1933).

*Virginia*: W. E. Garnett and J. M. Ellison, "Negro Life in Rural Virginia, 1865-1934," *Va. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 295, 59 p. (Blacksburg, 1934).

*Washington*: John H. Garland, "The Columbia Plateau Region of Commercial Grain Farming," *Geogr. Rev.*, 24:371-379 (July, 1934); W. A. Rockie, "Snowdrifts and the Palouse Topography," *ibid.*, 380-385; N. W. Johnson and R. E. Willard, "Trends in Agriculture in Washington, 1900 to 1930; Types of Farming Series, Part 2," *Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul.* 300, 45 p. (Pullman, 1934).

*Wisconsin*: M. H. Cohee, "Erosion and Land Utilization in the Driftless Area of Wisconsin," *Jour. Land & Public Utility Econ.*, 10:243-252 (August, 1934).

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*Ontario*: Thomas E. Elliott, "On My Grandfather's Farm," *York Pioneer and Hist. Soc., Rpt. 1933*, p. 16-20, concerning early days in the vicinity of Woodbridge; Edwin C. Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto, Ontario Pub. Co., 1933. 782 p., illus.), especially its chapters on the pioneer home, foods and cooking, the "Hungry Year," grinding grain into flour, maple sugar making, pioneer coöperation, and amusement and social life in the rural districts.

*Prairie Provinces*: C. A. Dawson and R. W. Murchie, *The Settlement of the Peace River Country: A Study of a Pioneer Area*. (*Canadian Frontiers of Settlement*, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, vol. 6. Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1934. 284 p.); *On the Last Frontier: Pioneering in the Peace River Block*, Letters of Mary Percy Jackson (London, Sheldon Press, 1933. 118 p.); H. M. Laing, "Our Canadian Deserts," *Canad. Geogr. Jour.*, 8:135-141 (March, 1934), concerning the dry lands of western Canada; W. A. Mackintosh, *Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting* (*Canadian Frontiers of Settlement*, edited by W. A. Mackintosh and W. L. G. Joerg, vol. 1. Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1934. 242 p.), reviewed by Robert C. Wallace in *Canad. Hist. Rev.*, 15:306-307 (September, 1934); R. W. Murchie, "Work of the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee," *World's Grain Exhibition Proc.* (1933), 1:307-312; W. C. Pollard, *Pioneering in the Prairie West* (London, Arthur H. Stockwell [n.d.] 110 p.), a revision of the author's work with the same title (Toronto, 1926); Joseph Wilbois, *Un Pays Neuf; L'Ouest Canadien* (Paris, Libraire Valois, 1931. 262 p.).

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*13th Century*: J. H. Clapham, "A Thirteenth-Century Market Town: Linton, Cambs.," *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, 4:194-202 (1933); R. A. Pelham, "The Distribution of Wool Merchants in Sussex in 1296," *Sussex Notes and Queries*, 4:161-163 (May, 1933), and his "The Exportation of Wool from Sussex in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Sussex Archaeological Society, Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 74:131-139 (Cambridge, 1933).

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"Labour Conditions in Essex in the Reign of Richard II," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 4:429-451 (April, 1934); E. E. Rich, "The Mayors of the Staples," *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, 4:120-142 (1933).

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*19th Century:* Pierre Flavigny, *Le Régime Agraire en Angleterre au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Les Éditions Internationales, 1932. 275 p.); T. Hennell, *Change in the Farm* (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1934. 201 p., illus.), concerning the remains of old ploughs, wagons and implements, etc.; Frederick Merk, "The British Corn Crisis of 1845-46 and the Oregon Treaty," *Agr. Hist.*, 8:95-123 (July, 1934); *One Hundred Years of the Royal Jersey Agricultural and Horticultural Society, 1833-1933*, compiled by H. G. Shepard ([Jersey, Channel Islands, J. T. Bigwood, 1934]. 96 p.).

*20th Century:* J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, "Fun on Yorkshire Farms," *Yorkshire Agr. Soc., Trans.*, 1933:59-76; J. A. Hanley, "Some Tweedside Farms," *Roy. Agr. Soc. England, Jour.*, 94:100-121 (1933); W. Harwood Long, "Factors Affecting Some Types of Farming in Devon and Cornwall," *ibid.*, 42-61; M. S. MacGregor, "Economic Changes on Devon and Cornwall Estates [1912-1932]," *Estate Mag.*, 34:342-347 (May, 1934); Sir Malcolm Seton, "Horace Plunkett's Rural Philosophy," *Fortnightly*, 142:208-216 (August, 1934); L. Dudley Stamp, "Land Utilization Survey of Britain," *Geogr. Rev.*, 24:646-650 (October, 1934); J. A. Scott Watson, *Rural Britain To-day and To-morrow* (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1934. 161

p., illus.), the contents of a series of radio talks which have also appeared with the title "Some Impressions of British Farming" in *Jour. Min. Agr.*, 40:1032-1039, 1121-1128; 41:13-20, 118-124, 243-254, 464-469 (February-August, 1934); James Wyllie, "Research in Agricultural Economics: A Ten Years' Retrospect," Wye, South-Eastern Agr. Col. *Jour.* (34):9-18 (July, 1934).

*Scotland*: Henry M. Leppard, "Scottish Carse Agriculture: The Carse of Gowrie," *Econ. Geogr.*, 10:217-238 (July, 1934); W. C. A. Ross, "Highland Emigration," *Scot. Geogr. Mag.*, 50:155-166 (May, 1934); Hugh Robert Mill, "Flashlights on Geography, Featuring Scotland," *ibid.*, 193-209 (July, 1934); Allen Walker Read, "The History of Dr. Johnson's Definition of 'Oats,'" *Agr. Hist.*, 8:81-94 (July, 1934).

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*Irish Free State*: A. Farrington, "The Loo Valley, Co. Kerry," *Roy. Irish Acad., Proc.*, 40:109-120 (1931); A. C. Forbes, "Some Legendary and Historical References to Irish Woods, and Their Significance," *ibid.*, 41:(1932), with an abstract in *Nature* (London), 131:246-247 (Feb. 18, 1933); Henry Harrison, *The Strange Case of the Irish Land Purchase Annuities* (Dublin, M. H. Gill & Son, 1932. 64 p.); Horace Plunkett Foundation, *Agricultural Co-operation in Ireland: A Survey* (London, George Routledge & Sons [1931] 424 p.), which contains much historical material in addition to the detailed survey of the contemporary situation; Rupert Metcalf, *England and Sir Horace Plunkett: An Essay in Agricultural Cooperation*, with introduction by Sir Daniel Hall (London, Gerald Howe, 1933. 143 p.), especially ch. 2, Horace Plunkett's Rural Philosophy, p. 21-43, and Horace Plunkett: An Appreciation, by R. A. Anderson, p. 135-140; Brian O'Neill, *The War for the Land in Ireland* (New York, International Pub., 1933. 201 p.); I. A. Richmond, "The Irish Analogies for the Romano-British Barn-Dwelling," *Jour. Roman Studies*, 22:96-106 (1932).

#### DANISH AGRICULTURE

*Dänische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, Gustav Fischer, 1933) includes a study of the early economic history of Denmark to 1536, by Professor Erik Arup; a history of Danish agriculture to 1840, by Professors Larsen and Olsen; and an analysis of recent Danish economic history, by Professor Axel Nielsen. The book is reviewed by Astrid Früs in the *Economic History Review*, 4:484-486 (April, 1934).

#### GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSOCIATION OF OFFICIAL AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTS

The souvenir booklet, *Golden Anniversary of the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists, 1884-1934* (39 p.), is a valuable contribution to the history of

sciences which have been factors in the development of agriculture. Of particular interest is the article by Dr. C. A. Browne entitled "Reminiscences of Early Friends of the Association," originally delivered as the address at the memorial dinner of the Association on October 30. The booklet also includes a photographic record of the officers of the Association since the time of its organization.

